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Multiculturalism and/or Transculturalism (Part I)

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CULTURAL AND LITERARY STUDIES

LINGUISTICS AND TEACHING

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Foreword

In a world of great ethnic and cultural diversity, of great differences among people, and, at the same time, in a world of increasing closeness due to globalization, this volume addresses two of the most important issues that define this process: **Multiculturalism** and **Transculturalism.**

The first term dates back to 1941, when, according to some researchers, a *New York-Herald Tribune* book review opposed the nationalist idea of the superiority of one nation above others and its wish to impose itself on those seen as inferior. According to others, the origins can be found much earlier, in 1915, when German-born Jewish-American philosopher Horace Kallen pleaded for what he termed "cultural pluralism": i.e., the opposition to the "melting-pot theory," a term coming from St. John de Crevecoeur, French immigrant established in America in the 18th century, for whom an American was a new and "melted race," as he explains in his famous *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782):

> .....whence came all these people? They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes... What, then, is the American, this new man? He is neither a European nor the descendant of a European [...] He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds.... The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared. (62-63)

What Kallen's "cultural pluralism" meant instead was not a mixture of nations, but a separation of ethnicities. This idea continued as an academic term until the Second World War when "self-appointed spokesmen" (36-43)—as Arthur Schlesinger calls the representatives of the newly South and East European immigrants in his book *The Disuniting of America* (1991, 1998)—started to protest against the American Anglo-centrism. From America the concept spread to Canada where the term "multiculturalism" was coined in 1960 and served to reconcile the parallel development of the French-Canadian, British-Canadian and the various minority cultures there.

Throughout the 20th century, the term reached many countries and continents, from the US to the UK and Continental Europe, and from Australia to Latin America and Japan. Speaking about America, multiculturalism appears as educational and state policy in the years 1960-1970, that is, during the African-American Civil Rights Movement, precisely to eliminate racial discrimination. A global phenomenon, it arrives in Romania only in the 1990s, and, mostly, in the last decade, when historians such as Lucian Boia and Neagu Djuvara have started to write about our own ethnic minorities. In their turn, Romanian ethnic minorities have started to write their own history, just like those in the United States. As some researches view it, the combination between 'multiculturalism' on the one hand, and 'tradition' and 'nationalism' on the other, leads to the (re)creation or the preservation of the borders between people and cultures.

Unlike 'multiculturalism, 'transculturalism', which dates back to the America of the 1940s, and was coined as an extension of the concept of 'métissage' (mixed people), by which José Marti defined the American identity in 1891, involves the individual's capacity to see, recongnize, and understand oneself in the others. Its main instrument is group interaction, an harmonious relationship among groups belonging to different cultures. In an era defined by the free migration of people, the so-called 'cultural shock' (culture shock) might be avoided through the individual's successful integration in the transculturalist

process. Thus, borders may sometimes be pushed to the farthest points, not only physically, but, more important, psychologically speaking. The transcultural world provides society with a well-balanced diversity and reveals man's ability to hold multiple identities that may easily lead him to different spaces, without actually changing his own physical space. The presence of the China Town, for instance, in most countries, involves, more often than not, the native's familia rizing with certain features of this phenomenon (like the cuisine), while completely ignoring or failing to understand the others. The Chinese citizen, on the other hand, feels comfortable in his own environment, unable to find the same pleasant mental environment beyond this little world. Transculturalism's natural acceptance, related with the voluntary mixture of cultures rather than with state policies, represents a more egalitarian approach, and the disappearance of such borders as promoted by multiculturalism, offering society the opportunity to expand its cultural universe under the circumstances of rediscovering oneself in the others.

Since both processes are American by birth, this volume, which is the first in a series of two on this same theme, starts with Rob Kroes's article "Citizenship, Nationhood, and Multiculturalism: European Dreams and the American Dream." Here, the author discusses the way in which each of the two continents has served as a cultural reference to each other, but each has also shown inner strains and problems related to multiculturalism. As Rob Kroes argues, American culture has always been both democratic and commercial, seeing its public as cultural consumers, as a market that had to be won through advertising wizardry used in seductive fantasies evocative of an imaginary America. On the other hand, the history of the European encounter with an American culture thus shaped is one of European audiences appropriating these seductive dreams and making them their own. In the quest for a cultural identity, the American ingredients served as alternatives in cultural struggles waged in every European national setting. Therefore, a shared cultural vernacular could evolve and this is summarized in the quip that the only culture that Europeans have in common across national borders is the American culture. Thus, the questions that close this article regard Europe's reaction to these mass cultural productions, a response which may translate into "acts of cultural resistance where an internalized America is again externalized as a symbol of globalization. [...] A sense of Europeanization is then the result of the act of 'othering', if not exorcising, the 'America' in us, i.e. us Europeans"; and the impact of America on Post-World War II Europe in terms of politics, which can be either a form of protest, and here Professor Kroes reminds us of "Jürgen Habermas's widely publicized opinion that Europe could only come to a sense of its collective political identity through resisting America's overbearing power," or, quite the opposite, "a submerged longing in Europe for an America returning to its inspirational role, as evidenced by the signs of mass affiliation with what Obama appeared to represent during his swing through Europe as a presidential candidate."

If we define the term "culture" both in its old meaning derived from Latin and Cicero of a cultivation of the soul or "cultura animi" and in its new one derived from the 18th century German thinkers, namely "the cultivation of inwardness or free individuality" (11-30), as Richard Velkley defined it in his 2002 article "The Tension in the Beautiful: On Culture and Civilization in Rousseau and German Philosophy" published in *Being After Rousseau: Philosophy and Culture in Question*, and expand it to literature, we reach the enlightening thesis of Alain Corbellari's "La révolte des clercs—une tentative d'autonomisation du champ littéraire au XIIIe siècle?". In his article, the author shows us two types of culture, one might say, one of the clergymen and one of the Church, by eloquently using Bourdieu's notion of "literary field" to depict the intellectual activity of the medieval clergymen from the 12th century onward. While these are traditionally perceived as blindly following ecclesiastical teachings, even in their timid "literary" attempts, Alain Corbellari argues for the contrary. Their "individuality" is manifested, beginning with the 12th century, through a certain independence from the Church, translated into a series of literary creations directed towards the secular society (and therefore using "profane" themes, rather than religious ones). Considering their willingness to ignore, for once, their religious background, in order to initiate a new type

of expression, Corbellari concludes that medieval clergymen are rather "intellectuals" (in the modern sense of the word) than men of the Church.

Religion as such is another major is sue in the dialogue between cultures, as Adrian Ignat shows us in his article "Dialogul interreligios—mijloc de aplanare a conflictelor." The author starts from the assumption that our post-modern era involves a major ethnic diversity, which results in seeing Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, atheists and agnostics in the same schools, public or private institutions. This, as he argues, implies all kinds of relationships and can be easily equated with all kinds of "pluralisms": cultural, ideological, politic, ethnic or religious. For Adrian Ignat, dialogue is the solution to any religious tensions. Dialogue would mean the relaxation of the centre-margin, big powers-small powers relationships; it would mean peace and harmony, love and mutual abnegation.

From religion and dialogue we can pass to the concept of "tolerance," which is the subject of the next article written by CristianTiberiu Popescu, "Tradiția toleranței la români, nivele și forme de manifestare." The author starts from the importance of the spiritual element which constitutes the mentality with which each nation/people came to the "European meeting," as he calls the process of integration in the European Union. From this point, the article's main concern will be to define the notions of "străin" (someone beyond the margins of the village), "sărac" (poor, without land, no matter his material situation otherwise obtained), "obște" (community), "obiceiul pământului" (the custom of the country), "prestanță" (dignified appearance—given only by the possession of land), "mișel" (the "străin" or "sărac," isolated from and by the community) which also denoted the leprosy. All these lead Cristian Tiberiu Popescu to the conclusion that "the foreigner is a jerk!" in medieval Romania. The conclusion is nuanced by the concept of "tolerance" which, the author argues, was also existent at that time, since the natives did accept the foreigner's presence, did not deny his humanity and his right to alterity/otherness. Even more, "Romanian tolerance" meant the acceptance of Catholic missions in their countries by the Romanian rulers of the 14th-15thcenturies, and the acceptance of guests from any religion at a Romanian monastery.

Romanian spirituality is again analyzed in Cristian Tiberiu Popescu's second article, "Criterii de reevaluare a spiritualității românești în secolul al IX-lea." Here we find the very interesting hypothesis that the 9thcentury meant a rebirth of the Latinity of the language spoken by the then Romanians. This was done through an administrative/political organization secured by a representative of the emperor and his civil servants and through a Christian organization secured by a representative of the Church and his missionary monks. All these lead the author to the conclusion that Romanian language was developed as Latin in this period.

Coming back to more recent times, Estella Antoaneta Ciobanu brings us into the world of the 19th century, sketching skilful images of a society in which socio-political attitudes were rather nationalist and imperialist, in her article "Religion and 'Race' as Ur-Cultural Referents in Nineteenth-Century 'America', or How to Practise Transculturalism Before the Age of Transculturalism." She examines the important contribution of John L. O'Sullivan, the American columnist well-known for the notion of "Manifest Destiny" that he used in 1845 to promote the Annexation of Texas and the Oregon Country to the U.S. and she is also trying to make the reader understand the message of Josiah Strong that called for social justice, as the leader of the Social Gospel. In a portrait-like analysis, the author details the world of the two famous Americans who created "the discourse of global integration through assimilation," intertwining, as she argues, discourses of history, religion, Darwinism, 'racial science' and social Darwinism. Therefore, Estella Antoaneta Ciobanu convincingly proves that transculturalism has always existed and it was practised under different forms long before its official recognition.

Approached from a gender perspective, multiculturalism means Affirmative Action and, literary speaking, writing about women. This will be the subject of the next two articles, "Suturing Adversity in Estranged Spaces: Kairos and Meaning Making in Women's Needlework Samplers" (Maureen Daly Goggin), and "Feminine Representations of the Bucharest Statuary—A Gender Perspective" (Maria Alexe).

In the first case, the author goes beyond the current perception of "women as consumers" and argues instead that:

> women's engagement with the material world is not only informed by a deep knowledge of the materials used, but women's manipulation of the material world is also central to constructing social, political, economic, and cultural meanings that operate well beyond the traditionally prescribed (and circumscribed) boundaries occupied by women. Women thus participate in the creation, maintenance, and communication of various knowledges.

After a compelling discussion of the role of sewing in schools, starting with the 16th century, seen as dressing poor children in charity schools or as making the required "curriculum vitae" of the English girls in the 19th century, as texts/songs (cross)-stitched on samplers "in black and red thread" made by girls in orphanages for sail or distress, or as different sample genres (from marking and memorial to verse and picture) "taught and created by middle—and upper class women," Maureen Daly Goggin concludes that both the space and the place that mark all samples examined "are central to the creation and circulation of meaning." Their creativity and production are much helped by adversity and they are a form of "knowledge-making" performed by women's hands.

In the second case, women who had used to "stay indoors" turn into public figures as two of the most important "early Bucharest statues" due to Western influence, as Maria Alexe argues. It is her thesis that "works of art are the icon of the social representation of the human body and therefore illustrate the role of women in society." As it can be seen, the women thus immortalized are Princess Bălaşa and Ana Davila (the wife of physician Carol Davila who has now a street named after him), both members of the old Romanian aristocracy, remembered, as the author explains, "for their generosity and for what they did for the people of Bucharest." What interests Maria Alexe here is to analyze the communication between these statues and the contemporary public, a purpose for which she uses a questionnaire whose conclusion is that the massage has changed over time and the statues are now regarded only as a reminder of a past golden age, while their role as tribute paid to the two women's contribution to charity and social development is completely ignored. Her last conclusion regards the difference between the neoclassical sculpture that used narrative texts to communicate its message and the post-modern society that "lets people have their own interpretation", thus making such texts useless.

Remaining on the realm of Cultural Studies in the 20th-21st centuries, we will move far away from Romania, with Sandra-Lucia Istrate's article "Tibet Behind China." Through a comparison with the Former Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries subjected to it, the paper is a pleading against the submission of Tibetans "under totalitarian foreign rule." Her arguments are the beauty of the magnificent temples that attract foreign tourists, the serene, calm and pacifist spirit of the Tibetans, their music, art, dance, wisdom of the monks, medicine and Dalai Lama's simplicity, compassion, forgiveness and love which inspire those around him. The author deplores the current extinction of Tibetan culture under the so-called Tibetan-Chinese biculturalism, in fact a "unicultural system under development." Their only form of resistance therefore is the organization of festivals and cultural events meant to preserve their identity. She concludes by noticing how both the US and the EU keep out of this conflict rather than interfering with it.

Transculturalism as crossing frontiers and structure as chaos is the subject of this volume's last paper on Cultural Studies, Felix Nicolau's "False Identities of Self-Proposed Heroes." As the author argues, in Peter Ackroyd' *The Fall of Troy* and Julian Barnes's *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters*, lie confronts truth. Thus, his main concern here is the hidden structure of a would-be chaotic phenomenon, as lie is considered, and the implicit chaotic germs affecting crystalline structures, namely truth. It is his thesis that if we resort to a flexible approach, we are bound to admit that there are no firm limitations of truth and lie. Consequently, nobody is an absolute liar or truth-teller. This is a point of ethics, but it can profitably be

assumed in debating upon the shortcomings of multiculturalism and the openings created by transculturalism.

We will now pass on to 20th-21st century literature and start this section, again, from America, with Oana Cogeanu's paper "Towards a Cosmopolitan Community: Richard Wright's Black Power," an inquiry into "African-Americans identity against the African and American backgrounds," carefully analyzing Wright's ability to attain his sense of belonging to a community, after having traveled to Africa. The writer and character at the same time uses this opportunity to criticize "the respectability of the slave-based Western society," to remember "how the African-American was deemed a commodity" and to reconsider "the ontic nature of the black person" in order to compare his own journey with that of "former slaves." As Oana Cogeanu argues, quoting Yoshinobu Hakutani, Wright is looking for the similarities between African and Western cultures, but, as she claims, contradicting Hakutani, what he finds is the difference, placing Africa and Europe in the standardized dichotomy "nature vs. Culture." A rational, individualistic character, Wright calls "the incomprehensible Africa" a "pathos," in the Nietzschean sense of the word. The conclusion is that Wright distances himself both from Africanness and from African-Americanness, being as the author of this article argues, "a black man in Western eyes and a Westerner in the eyes of Africans" and a "radical exile, for whom both America and Europe are sites of his displacement and mis-belonging," in a word, "a rootless man" as he defines himself.

We will now move on, again, from North America to Europe, namely to Britain, with "Cultural Meanings of Figurative Speech in Contemporary Caribbean British Poetry" (Monica Manolachi) and "Where Do We Go From Here? The Globalised World as Reflected in Rose Tremain's *The Swimming-Pool Season, Letter to Sister Benedicta* and *The Road Home*" (Cristina Mihaela Nistor).

The complexity and flexibility of the multiculturalist, transculturalist or cosmopolitan values in the context of the global-local relationship and of an emerging "cultural reality" is the object of Monica Manolachi's analysis. It is this author's view that a discussion about "cultural identity in contemporary Caribbean British poetry" should consider the following: the descriptive and normative meaning of the term "multicultural," the emergence of British multiculturalism as "an objective reality and eventually as a strategy opposed to assimilationism [...] in which tolerance and adaptability are valued, culture is not a cult, racial difference and hybridization have become natural, barriers against mobility are often eliminated and the principles of justice are expected to come from not only one culture"; the relationship between "the Caribbean diaspora and other diasporas in Britain" which is called cosmopolitanism and is defined as "an inclusive and shared morality; relations hips of mutual respect, despite differing beliefs, according to K. A. Appiah; and a general support for the Other, according to E. Levinas." As the author interestingly argues, this concept sometimes overlaps with the concept of transculturalism. After applying this theoretic background to several Caribbean poems, Monica Manolachi ends by putting together the steps taken for the configuration of the "metamorphic pattern of cultural progress" within Caribbean British poetry: first, "the split self," then the acknowledgement of the "gaps between unequal cultures" and "locating home where one is able to manage anxieties" and, finally, "one can play and master the conflicting facets of identity, by artistically replacing them with other agencies or masks."

Globalization and British multiculturalism make the subject of Cristina Mihaela Nistor's paper dealing with Rose Tremain. Such an approach is quite appropriate in the case of many British authors, as they benefited of a worldwide bringing up. Rose Tremain highlights in her novels the toxic effects of multiculturalism as opposed to transculturalism. The borders between countries and races can be easily transferred to the level of families. Thus, what seemed to be only a problem of nationality reveals itself as a matter of mentality clash, irrespective of race and gender.

From England we pass on to France and Dorina Mihaela Donea's article "De la civilisation occidentale a son propre 'ailleurs' dans *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique* de Michel Tournier." The paper is a subtle analysis of Tournier's re-interpretation of the myth of the savage. Tournier rewrites the story of Robinson

Crusoe, the man who was forced to live on a deserted island for more than twenty years, but in doing so, he chooses to reveal aspects which were never considered in Defoe's original novel. Dorina Mihaela Donea's study relies on such unique details: Robinson's newly found self-consciousness, which makes him realize humanity is most likely to be found in solitude rather than in society, where rigid rules prevail; Friday's relationship with Robinson, and his apparently shocking decision to leave his native land and head for civilization.

From France we come back once more to Romania, this time to Romanian literature and end this section of the volume with "The Persistence of the Flames" (Brândușa Dragomir), "Grigore Cugler (1903-1972), scriitor multi și transcultural" (Cosmin Perța) and "A Transcultural Experiment: History of the Romanian Literature Drawn by the Great Illustrators of the World" (Lucian Chișu).

Brândușa Dragomir starts her paper with an eloquent survey of the premises of Surrealist literature lead by French André Breton, seen as an antagonistic movement and then focuses on the textual analysis of several of Gelu Naum's poems. Her main concern is with the mystic, esoteric side of the creative act, and for this she relies on the theories of Julius Evola and Annick de Souzenelle. She thus shows the reader the alchemy of the Romanian poet in search of the primordial unit of the universe and, at the same time, sees his texts from a hermetic and cathartic perspective, stressing the miraculous element in them. This perspective helps us interpret the text as a product and a creation as well as a potential creator, generating virtual worlds derived from the mythic and mystic act of the creation of the universe.

The life and work of one of the most unknown Romanian writers, Grigore Cugler, is the subject of Cosmin Perța, who starts with Cugler multicultural and intellectual origins and marriage (Austrian-Romanian-English), continues with his career asa diplomat until 1947, the change of the political regime and his exile to Buenos Aires. Regarding his literary work, Cosmin Perța informs us that Cugler wrote in three languages and liked playing absurd "games" such as sending Spanish texts to Honolulu and French texts to Buenos Aires or Madrid. He became one of the major writers of the "absurd," mixed different genres and styles in order to create "strange territories and beings, which imprint themselves upon the retina due to their extravagance and trans-real eccentricity." As Cosmin Perța concludes, "the literature written by Grigore Cugler is pre-eminently trans- cultural, from the technical level (discourse agglutinations, border elimination, and mixed styles) until his themes (the parody of the serious ideas of modernist literature) and stake (to change the perception over the limits and the uselessness of the reality conventions)."

The last study on Romanian literature, Lucian Chișu's compelling article on the most challenging way of approaching a History of Literature, majestically underlines the implications of transcultural communication. By discussing the graphic representations of the canonical Romanian writers realized by artists all over the world, the researcher confirms Lyotard's theory about the micro-narratives. A small culture, as the Romanian one is, raises the interest of numerous illustrators across the world. Without knowing very much about the depicted Romanian writers, these artists embarked upon drawing their portraits. The effect is spectacular as they strove to surprise in their drawings traits of character in relation with different national identities. We are offered a regale of Romanian canonical writers seen through the eyes of numerous gifted international graphic artists.

The last but one section of the present volume approaches multiculturalism from the perspectives of Linguistics and Teaching, with "Globalization—Direct and Indirect Effects on Romanian Terminologies" (Mariana Bara), "Loanwords in Japanese in the Context of Globalization" (Andrea Sion), " 'Cultural' and 'Intercultural' in Teaching Foreign Languages in a Technical University" (Monica Pricope) and "From Patches to Patchwork—Teaching Multicultural Groups" (Yolanda Catelly).

In her study, Mariana Bara discusses the effects of globalization on Romanian terminologies, showing that the now generalized use of some concepts, ideas and values has caused not only an increase in the use of Anglicisms and of lexical structures of English origin, but has also brought a certain standardization

of terminologies and of definitions in sciences (including the political ones) and such areas as trade, services, industry or electronic communication.

In her paper, Andrea Sion gives an overview on loanwords in present-day Japanese, discussing their linguistic function, and the changes that took place in both their form and meaning when they were assimilated into the Japanese language. The author also presents the case of the so-called "English words made in Japan," a derivation of the linguistic process of borrowing foreign words, very productive in Japanese.

Monica Pricope's study focuses on the "cultural" vs. "intercultural" aspects in teaching foreign languages, discussing in detail a series of concepts connected to competence, such as competence-based education and intercultural competence. The article also presents the findings of a research which aimed to identify the perceptions of foreign language teachers on the most relevant teaching objectives, methods and content related to intercultural competence.

Finally, Yolanda Catelly's paper deals with the task of teaching English as a foreign language to multicultural groups of students. Based on a case study, the author discusses the various issues to be taken into consideration in order to ensure an optimum climate and equal chances to accessing tuition to all the participants involved.

The volume closes with a section produced by Felix Nicolau, called "Cronici"/ Book Reviews," where the literary critic makes us the pleasure of presenting some of the most recent Romanian publications on our domain: *Ineditul prozei postmoderne în Balcani* (Maria Alexe), *Fotografie de grup cu scriitoare uitate. Proza feminină interbelică* (Bianca Burța-Cernat), *Masculin-feminin în romanul postpașoptist: o abordare de gen* (Carmen Duțu), *Staging Stalinism in Post-Communist Romanian Theatre* (Ileana Alexandra Orlich) and *România cu amănuntul* (Chris Tănăsescu).

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Citizenship, Nationhood and Multiculturalism: European Dreams and the American Dream

Abstract: For well-nigh two centuries Europe and the United States have been each other's 'significant Other.' They have each served as a reference culture to the other, leading to questions concerning the 'Europeanization' of America, or, with particular urgency in the 20th century, 'the Americanization of Europe.' Yet, whatever the cultural interchanges and encounters across the Atlantic, the United States and Europe, particularly in the days of the European Union, have separately shown inner strains and problems, to do with immigration, ethnicity, and multiculturalism. This paper explores parallels and divergences in the way both the U.S. and Europe cope with these issues.

Introduction

In political discourse, on both sides of the Atlantic, 'Europe' and 'America' have been the subjects of hotly contested constructions, hugely invested with partisan views. In the U.S., Europe has been cast as a potential Eurabia, unable to fend off the advent of militant Islamism, while America cast itself in the role of being the last bastion of Western values and Christianity. Europeans on the other hand criticized what they saw as an American surrender to the agenda of a narrow and militant Christian revivalism, mired in views that Europeans thought they had left behind in their own onward march to cultural modernity and trans-nationalism. A different, and quite well-known, construction of the trans-Atlantic difference is between an America seen as militaristic, as martial in its culture and foreign policy, and a Europe that has learned its lessons from two devastating World Wars fought on European soil. In that view, famously put forth by Robert Kagan, Europe no longer believes in war as a policy tool that works; they opt for the creation of a European space where constitutionalism and the rule of law reign supreme. In Kagan's view this left Europe weak, depending for its defense on American military might. At the same time there were those, on both sides, who chose to see the other side in a more positive light, as in Jeremy Rifkind's provocative book on *The European Dream*, as a new model for americans to emulate, or in European analyses aimed at transcending and reformulating a Cold-War consensus as it had centered on the concept of Atlanticism. The promise of a new beginning in this relationship, offered by the political ascent of Obama and the hopes it raised among Europeans, constitute the counter-narrative that casts America in a more positive light.

This repertoire of partisan, if not ideological, views of the difference between Europe and America has helped people on both sides to define themselves and their collective purpose and identity by casting the other side as a negative example. And of course, this is what Americans and Europeans have been doing for a long time, in an intricate game of cultural dialectics. It is a game that highlights cultural difference and in a sense engages in what we might call 'othering' the other side, exaggerating difference while ignoring continuities and parallels. And in fact, parallels abound. If we can imagine ourselves taking a satellite view of both sides of the Atlantic, we would see two nations involved in frantic debates about their collective identity and purpose. In both Europe and America borders are fenced, shorelines policed

and walls erected to keep out unwanted strangers. No matter whether such strangers are lured by the magnet power of the American Dream, or by the European Promise, no matter whether they would strengthen the national economy in both America and the European Union and help both sides cope with ominous demographic trends. They are unwanted because they are seen as inassimilable, if not as a cultural threat. Academics, public intellectuals, journalists and politicians, have managed to produce best-sellers addressing these questions. In America there have been such vaunted professorial voices like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and especially Samuel Huntington to give poignant expression to widely shared common concerns. Schlesinger addressed problems of immigration and national identity in his book ominously entitled *The Disuniting of America*. More recently Huntington wrote his *Who Are We?* Such concerns have always accompanied the American self-reflection, but clearly have acquired a new urgency. In another best-selling book Huntington took a larger view, exploring the new collective challenge, not just for Americans but more generally the West after the Cold War had come to an end. He saw looming what he called *The Clash of Civilizations*, embodied most clearly in the incompatible world views of Islam and Western civilization. The book was remarkably prescient. Huntington's predictions seemed almost instantly borne out by the events of 9/11 and their long aftermath. In Europe as well the rise of populism as a force in politics was accompanied by alarmist studies of the failure of multiculturalism, focused particularly on the presence of Islamic minorities in member states of the European Union. The run-away success of books by German author Thilo Sarrazin is a clear marker of this change of public mood.

It seems almost like a voice from a different and past world if we remind ourselves of a seminal book by American historian David Hollinger, called *Postethnic America*. First published in 1995, *Postethnic America* was widely hailed as a groundbreaking proposal for healing our nation's ethnic divisions. Hollinger's subtitle sounds like a program: *Beyond Multiculturalism*. He conjures up a world where multicultural differences are no longer a force of social and political cleavage and fissure, but survive as cultural repertoires allowing people to toy with a variety of cultural identities. I was reminded of a Saint-Patrick Day's parade in Chicago, where the city's Irish establishment festively paraded along the streets and a black girl, standing next to me among the crowd of onlookers, wore the Irish emblem with the words: "Kiss me, I'm Irish." She, or more likely her parents, had chosen playfully to overcome traditional dividing lines, most crucially skin color. I have another example to illustrate the cultural freedoms and pleasures offered by an America that has moved beyond its divisive multiculturalism. It is the closing scene from a 1988, John Landis film, *Coming to America*. As the final installment of a gag running through the film, set in a barbershop with a mixed clientele, we see black actor Eddy Murphy in white-face, doing a deadpan, yet hilarious, imitation of Groucho Marx telling a Jewish joke. It is a beautiful example of what the future may hold in store, using the power of American filmmaking in showing fantasy worlds that may yet come true. And in fact, for America to have a black president may well have been a step in that direction.[1]

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[1] See Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe In the New World Order* (New York: Random House, 2004); Jeremy Rifkind, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2004); Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilization?" *Foreign Affairs* [72.3 (Summer 1993): 23] expanded into a book: *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004); Arthur M. Schlessinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998); David Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995, 2000); Thilo Sarazzin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab: Wie wir under Land oufs Spiel setzen* (München: Deutsche Verlags – Anstalt, 2010).

Citizenship in a Trans-Atlantic Perspective

The United States, throughout what is commonly referred to as the "American Century," has held cultural sway over those living within its imperial reach, particularly in the years following World War II. Among Europeans at the receiving end of America's cultural radiance there has been a blend of intrigued fascination mixed in with cultural resistance, trying to make sense of America's cultural Otherness as measured by European standards, and to fathom the impact of American mass culture on Europe's cultural landscape. In fact, the history of these European concerns predates the "American century." Words like Americanization were coined in Europe as early as the 19th century, when America was still in the early stages of developing forms of mass culture to Americanize the many who had come as strangers to its shores. In the process Americans managed to develop a cultural vernacular that could speak to mass audiences rather than elite publics. And it did so with all the mastery it used in reaching mass markets for its mass-produced consumption commodities. In fact, it never shrank from applying the logic of marketing to cultural forms. From its early origins, it might be argued, American mass culture was both democratic and commercial, conceiving of its public as cultural consumers constituting a market. And it appealed to that market with all the force of its advertising wizardry, wrapping its products, whether economic commodities like cigarettes, or cultural products like film, in seductive narrative fantasies that were all equally evocative of an imaginary America, a dreamscape that had Americanized the immigrants before it would tempt foreign publics.[2]

The history of the European encounter with an American culture cast in this mould is one of European audiences, mostly the younger generations, appropriating these seductive dreams and making them their own, against parental strictures. Thus, particularly in the post-World War II years, when Europe had set out on its own course toward a culture of consumption, in many cases America provided them with the standards for emulation, providing each next generation of youngsters with a cultural vernacular redolent with American fantasies. In these younger generations' quest for a cultural identity, American ingredients served as alternatives in cultural struggles waged in every European national setting with cultural gate-keepers guarding the purity of the national identity. Thus a shared cultural vernacular could evolve that is meaningfully summarized in the quip that the only culture that Europeans have in common across national borders is American culture.

In this view, we may conceive of this new cultural vernacular in terms of cosmopolitan memory. Replete as this cultural vernacular—or vernacular culture, for that matter—is with imagined Americas, it does put one in mind of David Levy and Nathan Sznaider's view of cosmopolitan memory as independent of specific carrier groups, but rather as being mediated by films, television, the music industry, books, photographs, all being available for mass consumption. As they put it: "Cosmopolitan memory thus implies some recognition of the history (and memories) of the Other," the Other in our case being an imagined, if not imaginary, America (Levy and Sznaider 103). In this paper I will argue that European experiences and cultural habits are imbricated with patterns of American mass culture, particularly in the post-World War II era. America, in our case, is that 'Other,' whose history and memories, as refracted in America's own mass cultural productions, are being increasingly acknowledged in European forms of cultural appropriation and resistance. To make my case, I'll be looking at the many ways in which American cultural transmissions, as so many semantic bits and pieces, have been filling Europe's public space. In other words, I'll be looking at the American "signage" that has increasingly come to constitute the semantic environment of daily life in Europe.

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[2] For the early history of the formation of American mass culture, I may refer the reader to: Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Europe's Inner Contradictions: Nationalism versus Cosmopolitanism

In current reflections on the ways in which Europe is changing if not evolving, two pairs of buzzwords emphasize the contradictory forces affecting Europe's changes. One pair, cosmopolitanism and transnationalism, focuses our attention on the many ways in which the political affiliations and cultural affinities of Europeans have transcended their conventional frames of reference, away from the nation and the nation state. The other pair, nationalism and localism, stresses the enduring power of precisely such conventional forms of affiliation and self-identification. At the present point in time, with Europe engaged in the Promethean venture of introducing a Constitution-like framework for the European Union following its last dramatic expansion of scale, hidebound forms of nationalism and localism are gaining strength. Public opinion in the member states of the Union is increasingly sceptical of the whole project, seeing it as a cultural and economic threat rather than as a promise of a better life for all involved. This may be temporary and transient, a moment's hesitation in the face of a daring leap into a future whose costs may outweigh its benefits. The current economic malaise in much of Europe may in fact lead many ruefully to look back at the days of national sovereignty and the sense of collective control of the national destiny that is now a nostalgic memory. There is a feeling of loss of direction which in many member states takes people to a renewed reflection on national identity and national culture. Even in a country like the Netherlands where Dutchness has most of the time been more of a "given"—to use Daniel Boorstin's word to describe the consensual nature of America's political culture[3] —and therefore hardly ever openly contested or argued, it has recently become a hotly debated issue in political and intellectual circles. The causes of this recent trend are as much domestic, to do with the increased multicultural nature of Dutch society, as they are European, if not global. Yet in the eyes of many the two are interrelated; the increased porosity of national borders is seen as due to the super-imposition of a "Europe without borders."

This hidebound view of what is wrong with Europe stands in opposition to views of European developments in the light of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. German sociologist Ulrich Beck is among those who see transnationalism as the outcome of long-term processes ushering in a stage of Second Modernity; they are processes that have worked to erode the logic of the historical stage of First Modernity, centered on the bonding and bounding force of nationalism in the historical formation of the nation state.[4] Nationalism as a historical project aimed at moulding nations conceived in terms of cultural and political homogeneity, speaking one national language, sharing one cultural identity. Its logic was inherently binary. At the same time as defining insiders, it defined outsiders. These could be strangers in the midst of the "imagined community" of the nation, a living contradiction to the ideal-typical construction of the "pure" nation, and therefore subject to a range of forms of exclusion, if not persecution,[5] or they could literally be outsiders, members of other nations, and therefore cultural, almost legitimate, "others." In our age of globalization this binary logic has been relentlessly eroded. Exposed to a world-wide flow of cultural expression, people everywhere have appropriated cultural codes alien to their homogenized national cultures. They have developed multiple identities, allowing them to move across a range of cultural affinities and affiliations. The communications revolution, most recently in the form of the World Wide Web, has made for a freedom of movement between a multitude of self-styled communities of taste and opinion, transcending national borders. A person's national identity is now only one among many options for meaningful affiliation with fellow human beings, triggered at some moments while remaining dormant, or latent, at others. One's local roots are now only one of the many signifiers of

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[3] Daniel Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953).

[4] Ulrich Beck, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Emerging from a Rivalry of Distinctions." *Global America? The Cultural Consequences of Globalization*. Eds. Ulrich Beck, Nathan Sznaider, and Rainer Winter (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003). Also: Ulrich Beck, "Understanding the Real Europe." *Dissent* (Summer 2003).

[5] On these processes of exclusion and inclusion, as they relate to historical dramas of ethnic and cultural cleansing, see Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989)

a person's sense of self. Beck calls this rooted cosmopolitanism. There is no cosmopolitanism without localism (Beck "Cosmopolitanism" 17).

As Beck also points out, much of this new cosmopolitanism is relatively unreflected, "banal" ("Cosmopolitanism" 21). Teenagers affiliating with a transnational youth culture, sharing cultural appetites with untold others dispersed across the globe, are simply consumers of mass culture, unaware of the existential joy of their transnational venture. Banal nationalism is being constantly eroded by the torrent of banal cosmopolitanism in the forms of mass culture that wash across the globe. It is banal because it is unreflected, never leading the new cosmopolitans to pause and ponder what happened to their sense of self. Yet, unaware as they may be of the intricate pattern of cultural vectors that guide their cultural consumption, collectively they have worked to cosmopolitanize the nation state from within. Countries like France, Germany, Britain or the Netherlands are no longer nation states but transnational states. Mass culture of course is only one of the forces of change. International migration, the formation of diasporic communities across the map of Europe, and the attendant rise of multiculturalism have also changed the conventional paradigm of the nation state. There is nothing banal here, in the sense of an unreflected cosmopolitanism taking root. Quite the contrary; the anguished consideration of the changed contours of nationhood and the citizenry is a clear reflection of the concern, shared by many, about what has happened to the idea of the nation. Yet, as Beck argues in *Dissent*, the only way for the European project to go forward is for Europe to become a transnational state, a more defined and complex variant of what its component nations are already becoming.

Much as I agree with this vision of Europe's future, I am struck by the historical myopia in Beck's argument. As he presents his case, Europe's Second Modernity, its age of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, evolves from Europe's First Modernity, an age whose central logic was that of the nation state. This seems to deny the long historical experience of cosmopolitanism in Europe, of a view of the civilized life centering on what can only be described as European culture. Art history, in its traditional, if not canonical, version has long been the repository of this view, looking at the history of European music, painting, writing, and architecture, from this encompassing vantage point, seeing art forms evolving through an interplay of transnational inspirations and influences, distinguishing styles and periods, but always in a trans-national discourse. No banal cosmopolitanism here, but the high-minded version of cultural elites producing and consuming a culture that was truly cosmopolitan, transcending the borders and bounds of the nation state. It was always a rooted cosmopolitanism, with European trends and styles in the arts always being refracted through local appropriations, reflecting local tastes and manners. As Kant defined cosmopolitanism, it was always a way of combining the universal and the particular, Nation und Weltbürger, nation and world citizenship. This is the lasting and exhilarating promise of European history, in spite of the atrocities committed on European soil in the name of the homogenized nation, marching in lock-step, purging itself of unwanted "others." The vision of world citizenship, the transcending idea of humanity, has always had to be defended against the other half of Kant's dialectical pair, against the claims on behalf of the nation. In an astute discussion of the Nuremberg tribunal and the new legal principle of "Crimes against humanity" which it introduced, Beck makes the following observation, worth quoting in full:

> It is at this point that cosmopolitan Europe generates a genuinely European inner contradiction, legally, morally, and politically. The traditions from which colonial, nationalist, and genocidal horror originated were clearly European. But so were the new legal standards against which these acts were condemned and tried in the spotlight of world publicity. At this formative moment in its history, Europe mobilized its traditions to produce something historically new. It took the idea of recognition of the humanity of the Other and made it the foundation of an historically new counter-logic. It specifically designed this logic to counteract the

ethnic perversion of the European tradition to which the nation-based form of European modernity had just shown itself so horribly liable. It was an attempt to European antidote to Europe.[6]

This is truly what the post-World War II project of building a new Europe has been all about, to draw on a long European tradition of high-minded cosmopolitanism, inclusive of cultural variety and cultural Others, and internalized by its citizens as a plurality of individual selves.

This is a daunting project. If it succeeds it may well serve as a model to the world, a rival to the American ideal of transnationalism, of constituting a nation of nations. I remind the reader of high-minded calls made at the time of World War I by a young generation of intellectuals, such as Waldo Frank and Randolph Bourne, who brilliantly and paradoxically sought to translate their cultural nationalism into a quest for American transnationalism, inspired by the heterogeneous, immigrant multitudes who composed the nation. Yet, if the European way into the future and the American way are rival models, they are at the same time of one kind. They are variations on larger ideals inspiring the idea of Western civilization and find their roots in truly European formative moments in history, in the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. Larry Siedentop places the formative moment even earlier in time, coinciding with the rise of a Christian view of the universal equality of mankind vis-à-vis God. As he presents it, the formative moment consisted in universalizing a religious view that in Judaism was still highly particularist, claiming an exceptionalist relation between God and the people of Israel (Siedentop 190, 195, 198). This shared heritage inspired the first trans-Atlantic readings of what the terrorist attack of 9/11 signified. It was seen as an onslaught on the core values of a shared civilization. How ironic, if not tragic, then, that before long the United States and Europe parted ways in finding the proper response to the new threat of international terrorism.

As for the United States, under its then-President George W. Bush the first signs of a farewell to internationalism in foreign policy—to its Wilsonianism, if you wish—and to its pioneering role in designing the institutional and legal framework for peaceful inter-state relations in the world, had actually preceded 9/11. No longer did the Bush administration conceive of the United States as a primus inter pares, setting the guidelines for collective action while seeking legitimacy for action through treaties and United Nations resolutions. As the one remaining hegemony on the world stage, it apparently felt free from constraints set by its own Constitution or by international law in the pursuit of its national interest through policies that one can only describe as unilateralist. Such a pursuit by the Bush administration may appear like a throwback to the time of nation state sovereignty, a stage in history that Europe is struggling to transcend.

The tragedy in these recent trends is all the more poignant for those who gratefully remember America's relatively disinterested role, following World War II, in the creation of a larger, self-conscious, European entity, if not identity. This entity, as the United States envisioned and sponsored it, was to be economic, political, and cultural (Lundenstad 263-277). As for the latter aspect, United States public diplomacy actively worked to disseminate its culture abroad, from its high-brow to low-brow varieties. In addition, though, under its own commercial steam, American mass culture successfully conquered foreign markets and formed cultural tastes and appetites abroad, Americanizing its publics in the process. Ironically, in this way as well America worked to create a larger European sense of self and of place, by providing Europeans with a shared cultural vernacular.

Conclusion: Two final Points for Consideration

1. If a shared cultural vernacular across Europe's cultural space consists partly of American mass cultural productions as consumed in Europe, how can we understand this to translate into a meaningful

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[6]Beck, "Understanding the Real Europe: A Cosmopolitan Perspective" Annual Neale Wheeler Watson Lecture at the Nobel Museum, Stockholm, June 1, 2006.

sense of European affinities? Perhaps the translation proceeds dialectically through acts of cultural resistance where an internalized America is again externalized as a symbol of globalization. There are many examples of this happening. A sense of Europeanization is then the result of the act of 'othering,' if not exorcising, the 'America' in us, i.e. us Europeans. At this point I have two further illustrations I wish to share with you, illustrating the complex interactions between the European appropriation of American cultural forms, and their re-arrangement in defence of the variety of Europe's local cultural identities. Both are visual documents, music videos produced in Europe, one in the Basque country in Spain, the other in Romania in the wake of shedding its communist regime.

The Basque video in itself represents an act of cultural emancipation from the cultural hegemony imposed under the Franco dictatorship. The lyrics are in Basque, and the station broadcasting the video has all-Basque programming. This may suggest localism, if not cultural provincialism. Nothing would be farther from the truth. What we have here is a perfect example of 'glocalisation', to use Roland Robertson's neologism. The music used is "world music," known as Ska, hailing from the Caribbean and popularized through the British music industry. The format of the music video as such is itself part of global musical entertainment. Yet the message conveyed is local. What the video shows is a confusing blend of the traditional and the modern. The opening shot is of a man using a scythe for cutting grass. The camera moves up and shows a modern, international-style, office block. A mobile phone rings, and the grasscutter answers the call. More images evoke modern life. We see an old man talking into a microphone strapped to his head, as if he is talking to himself. We see a group of young men, with bar codes on their heads, working out in tandem, yet in complete isolation, like a transported glimpse of an American gym. Then the protagonists of the video appear, with a rickety van, getting ready to sell the local variety of fast food, a Basque sausage on a roll. The very smell breaks the isolation of people caught in the alienating life of modernity. They all flock to the sausage stand to get a taste of "true Basqueness". They come to life, spurred by an alleged authenticity of relics of traditional Basque life. The lyrics repeat the refrain: "Down with McDonald′s, Long live Big Beñat" (the name of the Basque delicacy).

The claim made in this video is on behalf of the authenticity of regional cultures struggling to survive in a world threatened by the homogenizing forces of globalization. Yet the medium of communication testifies to the impact of precisely those forces as much as it protests against them. There is much irony in all this, but most important is the fact that what is shown as modernity truly revives a long repertoire of European cultural anti-Americanism. America is modernity and the long history of European resistance to America is truly a story of resisting the onslaught of modernity on Europe′s chequered map of regional and/or national cultures.[7]

The Romanian music video, a co-production by Puya and Rapsinger Connect-R, is called "My Americandrim" (My American Dream). It takes the viewer back to the heady days of the toppling of the Ceausescu regime, eagerly reported on American TV news. Connect-R, who in other work shows he can be the perfect local replica of an American gangster rapper, here takes a disabused view of life in Romania after the Revolution. The refrain keeps repeating these lines:

> I can be what I want to be
> Losing my identity
> Cause I got a lot of life in me
> Let me live my American dream.

The key words here are "losing my identity." Images and lyrics go together in showing a cultural wasteland, cut adrift, without local moorings or a sense of cultural continuity with the past, yet open to influences

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[7]URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXuffvjs_Ps (song and lyrics by Fermin Muguruza)

from all sides. They build up to an indictment, not unlike the Basque video, of the pernicious impact of globalization. Yet, ironically, the message is being delivered by a man who does live his American dream in the borrowed identity of an American gangster Rapper.[8]

2. If America, in addition to providing Europeans with a model for cultural tastes and affinities in the post-World War II era, has managed to set itself up as a political model as well, are there similar dialectical processes at work? May we, for instance, see signs of this happening in the European political ferment during the run-up to the Iraq War? I may remind the reader of Jürgen Habermas's widely publicized opinion that Europe could only come to a sense of its collective political identity through resisting America's overbearing power. In the wide-spread anti-war protest across Europe, Habermas saw signs of a European public opinion forming. His was a public position reminiscent of Randolph Bourne's just prior to America's intervention in World War I on the side of Britain. Bourne argued that continued non-intervention would allow America finally to cut the umbilical cord that tied it to Britain's cultural and political dominion. Or do things work differently, and is there a submerged longing in Europe for an America returning to its inspirational role, as evidenced by the signs of mass affiliation with what Obama appeared to represent during his swing through Europe as a presidential candidate? The high point was the mass rally in Berlin on July 24th, 2008, reminiscent of the public enthusiasm aroused by John F. Kennedy's June, 1963, visit to the city. Can we see in this the longing for American inspirational leadership, and a sign of Europe falling far short of showing such power of promise and political affiliation?

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[8]URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFKa_gaFMlQ (song and lyrics by Puya and Connect-R)

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Religion and 'Race' as Ur-Cultural Referents in Ninteenth-Century 'America,' or How to Practise Transculturalism before the Age of Transculturalism

Abstract: This paper examines the seminal contribution of two 19th-century Americans, John L. O'Sullivan and Josiah Strong, towards promoting socio-political attitudes with a marked nationalist and imperialist thrust. On the face of it, any such agenda is blatantly opposed to the current notion of transculturalism. What yields to a transculturalist reading of their respective writings is the mythology they championed, one whose biological, historical, religious and civilisation determinations fashioned 'the American people' into at once the best exemplar of western European qua human stock and a model of rupture with, indeed transcendence of, Europe's ethico-political bankruptcy. Intertwining as they did, though in different ratios, discourses of history, religion, Darwinism, 'racial science' and social Darwinism, the Lutheran journalist and the Congregationalist minister helped create a specious discourse of global integration through assimilation for propagandist, missionary and polemical purposes. Unfortunately, not only did its undertones outlive their original context but they subtly permeated early 20th-century 'scientifically' devised immigration acts and poor laws.

Keywords: John L. O'Sullivan, Josiah Strong, American exceptionalism, Darwinian evolutionism, racialism, Christianity, transculturalism.

Introduction

This paper examines the seminal contribution of two 19th-century Americans, John L. O'Sullivan and Josiah Strong, towards promoting socio-political attitudes with a marked nationalist and imperialist thrust. On the face of it, any such agenda is blatantly opposed to the current notion of transculturalism. What yields to a transculturalist reading of their respecttive writings is the mythology they championed, one whose biological, historical, religious and civilisation determinations fashioned 'the American people' into at once the best exemplar of western European qua human stock and a model of rupture with, indeed transcendence of, Europe's ethico-political bankruptcy. Intertwining as they did, though in different ratios, discourses of history, religion, Darwinism[9] racial science and social Darwinism,[10] the Lutheran journalist and the Congregationalist minister helped create a specious discourse of global integration through assimilation for propagandist, missionnary and polemical purposes. Unfortunately, not only did its

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[9] *The Descent of Man* (1871) identified 'the great sin of slavery' (Darwin 94)—observed within barbarian and savage communities, among which Darwin mentions the Native Americans—as doomed to extinction once 'the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace throughout the world the savage races' (201). For a cogent discussion of Darwin's views on races and the abolition of slavery, see Moore.

[10] Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism is a doctrine purporting "to synthesize the ideology of Progress, liberal economics and 'Darwinism'—to which 'freedom' is often added—'into a particularly implacable interpretation'" (Roucloux 47). Roucloux reads the *necessary survival of the fittest*—"described as increasingly assured by the humanization of the 'natural' struggle of everyone against everyone else through economic competition" (48)—as Spencer's "synthesis of anthropological pessimism and historical optimism" (48). Spencer "has contributed to giving eugenics a high proportion of its anthropological premises" when the "anthropological pessimism of social Darwinism has slipped towards this voluntarist ideology which is eugenics" (Roucloux 48).

undertones outlive their original context but they subtly permeated early 20th-century 'scientifically' devised immigration acts and poor laws.

Before I can embark on the issue at hand, a conceptual clarification is in order. *Transculturalism*, the perspective through which I examine 19th-century American exceptionalism, may sound familiar in theory but prove to be tricky conceptually, as Brett Bourbon (404-9) contends. Voicing his suspicions that "*trans* words (such as *transculture*...) ... are magnets for theories" (Bourbon 406), Bourbon identifies them as "nested ideas" (405):

> [*Trans* words, e.g. *transcultural*] are not the means of describing a clearly defined culture; rather, they suggest that established European cultures and indigenous American cultures formed a third kind of culture. Of course, there were interactions and shifts, brought about through conquest and adaptation. *But are contact and interaction between two cultures enough to produce a third culture?* Is a transculture a miniculture forming at the intersection between two established cultures?... Cultures change, often at points of conflict and contact. But this truism hardly needs a new special concept to encapsulate it. By attaching *trans-* to some term, a theorist is not simply being descriptive of something but is trying to alter the sense of that something—in this case, the idea of culture. The notion of a transculture is an idea about categories (Bourbon 405-6, original emphasis).

On Bourbon's reading,

> The excess of ideas inflating the putatively transcultural is evident in the way the concept is absorbed into ideological purposes. For example, the in-between of cultures... looks like what Homi Bhabha calls *hybridity*, which has a moral valence and ideological import. This in-between state supposedly undermines the determinate cultural ideas on either side of it... To determine the nature of these transcultural interactions requires conceptual care and, most importantly, empirical research. *If 'the transcultural' means something, it is something we must discover in the messiness of the world, not something we make up while theorizing* (Bourbon 407, emphasis added).

If, however ill defined (according to Bourbon), transculturalism affords a lens for looking at the phenomenon of cultural contact or clash, or perhaps helps increase awareness of it, then what happens in the case of 19th-century views of American exceptionalism? Why should a nationalistic trope come under transculturalist scrutiny as well? The answer lies in part with the motivation for the US imperialist drive at the time, the very opposite of transnationalism.

John L. O'Sullivan and Josiah Strong

In focusing on O'Sullivan's and Strong's paeans to American exceptionalism I do not pursue a novel track, especially considering the wealth of recent critical theorisation of the concept (Ricento esp. 613-4; Youngberg 317-23; Murphy 64-66). Nor do I wish to argue that the nationalistic ideas of O'Sullivan and Strong were either unique in the age or influential abroad. Rather, such ideas participated in a larger Euro-American discourse of nationalism and xenophobia, embedded in a militarist frame of mind and idiom, as Siniša Malešević (195) observes with respect to the leading academic circles throughout western Europe and North America.[11]

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[11] Influential sociologists in Europe and North America focused their discipline's main research interests on "race struggle," "group selection through violence," nationalism, polygeny, cultural and biological difference, and warfare, ... "struggle for life"' (Malešević 195). Not only did they "shar[e] a common research focus on war, violence and state power," but they also "interpreted social and political life through a distinct bellicose approach, all of which sets them apart as representatives of a particular intellectual tradition" (Malešević 196), which Malešević dubs the bellicose tradition in classical sociology (196).

When in November 1839 New York journalist John Louis O'Sullivan published "The Great Nation of Futurity" as the editorial of *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, he launched a topic of debate—American exceptionalism[12] centred on the trope of 'manifest destiny'[13]—which was to endure to this day, and which emerged in the context of relative American growth yet also crisis (Jenkins 90-146) half a century after the American Revolution. Here are the opening and closing paragraphs of O'Sullivan's 1839 editorial:

> The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be *the great nation of futurity...*

> Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfilment of our mission—to the entire development of the principle of our organization—freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be *the great nation* of futurity? (O'Sullivan 426, 429-30; original emphasis).

In his 1839 editorial, O'Sullivan explicitly proclaims the US political uniqueness as historically partheno-genetic: "our disconnected position as regards any other nation" (426). The editorial's opening sentences claim as much as American national edification from historical scratch by breaking free from the European past,[14] with its protracted history of political 'crimes' rather than 'glories,' even as O'Sullivan acknowledges the (Anglo-) Americans' European descent. Still, the comprehensive national label which O'Sullivan uses,

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[12] Claims about American exceptionalism as made ever since Alexis de Tocqueville's two-volume *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840) have recently come under scrutiny by some American scholars (Bender, "The American Way of Empire"; Wrobel (433-38); Torpey (145)), whose discomfiture was already articulated by Robert Bellah in his seminal "Civil Religion" (51-52).

[13] The phrase 'manifest destiny' is generally attributed to O'Sullivan (Sampson 192-95) and dated 1845, when two unsigned editorials—published respectively in *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (July - August) and the *New York Morning News* (27 December)—spell out the gist of O'Sullivan's "The Great Nation of Futurity" (1839). However, Linda Hudson (Etcheson) contends that 'manifest destiny' was coined by Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, herself a journalist for the *Democratic Review* and a great propagandist of the idea. Be that as it may, I use here the more general identification of the editorials' author as O'Sullivan because my primary concern is the currency of the idea in the age rather than the paternity of the phrase. For lack of space, this paper does not address the two 1845 editorials that deploy the explicit phrase 'manifest destiny.'

[14] The same messianic talk and invocation of an unavoidable break of the New from the Old World underlie Jonathan Edwards' "Paradise in America" (Youngberg 319-20), penned a century before "The Great Nation of Futurity."

'the American people,' colludes with the declaration of the rights of men (sic) in tacitly disowning those already disenfranchised and othered: women, Blacks and Native Americans. The closing paragraph, however, opens with a praise of his country's pursuance of 'individual freedom,' 'universal enfranchisement' and '[e]quality of rights'—described as both existing in the present and American in scope, on the one hand, and future-orientated and global, on the other.

O'Sullivan's famous paean to the political excellence of his country and her messianic mission of political redemption worldwide (Youngberg 319-20) is primarily an eloquent example of how *civil religion*[15] can work to produce, maintain and disseminate nationalistic and imperialistic ideas whose very existence depends on violent ethnic, racial, religious and gender exclusions from the national and political body (Torpey 162; cf. Gatens 81-83). A Jacksonian supporter, O'Sullivan did not extend his liberal reformist ideas so as to confront slavery; nor did he heed the destruction of the Native Americans.[16] His wording echoes John Winthrop's political sermon *A Modell of Christian Charity* (1630), itself an outstanding exemplar of American exceptionalism qua messianism couched in biblical language—and ready to naturalise social inequity as providential (Winthrop 33).

Yet what is O'Sullivan so proud about, and what are in his view Europe's negative examples?

> It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defence of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. *Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another*, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes... [N]or have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy (O'Sullivan 427, emphasis added).

In fact, various American documents record not transcending bloodshed in edifying a New World culture apart from that of blood-thirsty western Europe, but the carnage of the indigenous peoples, e.g. the massacre at the fortified Pequot village at Missituck (Mystic) on May, 26, 1637, the turning point of the Pequot War (1636-37).[17] Such messianism as extolled by O'Sullivan would later be critiqued by New York Presbyterian minister Henry Van Dyke in response to beliefs that the US had to follow her 'mission' in the Philippines.[18]

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[15] According to its first theorist, Robert Bellah, civil religions comprised of "a collection of beliefs, symbols, and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized in... [the American] collectivity" ("Civil Religion" 46), which "have played a crucial role in the development of American institutions" (42) ever since America's founding documents.

[16] In fact, throughout most of the 19th century the imperialistic concept of manifest destiny was deployed to morally justify and to extol as divinely ordained, hence as necessary, unavoidable and beyond suspicion, the US policy of westward expansion at an immense cost—dispossession—to the others (Youngberg 317-22; Bender 45-52), whether indigenous communities (the Native Americans) and racial groups (the Africans brought in as slaves) or countries (Mexico, Cuba and the Philippines).

[17] A 17th-century woodcut represents the decimation of Missituck's population by English Puritans aided by the Mohegan and Narragansett (<www.robinsonlibrary.com/america/indians/wars/pequot.htm>). Back in England, captain John Underhill replied to the question regarding such brutal massacring by recourse to God-talk: "We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings" (qtd. in Gaustad, Schmidt 11). A Puritan minister claimed in like manner that "God himself had 'subdued' the Pequots" (Gaustad, Schmidt 11).

[18] "If that were true, our whole duty would not be done... until we had annexed the misgoverned Spaniards of Spain also... Does the... treatment of the Indians in... the United States give us a comfortable sense of pride? ...Is our success in treating the Chinese problem and the Negro problem so notorious that we must attempt to repeat it on a magnified scale eight thousand miles away?" (Henry Van Dyke, qtd. in Torpey 157). Van Dyke urged instead that Americans return to "our unsolved problems staring us in the face, our cities misgoverned and our territories neglected" (qtd. in Torpey 157).

O'Sullivan's claim to bloodless politico-cultural edification was by no means unprecedented, though. In his Second Annual Message to Congress on December, 6, 1830, President Andrew Jackson commented on his Indian removal policy[19] thus:

> It gives me pleasure to announce the Congress that the benevolent policy of the government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching a happy consummation... The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual states, and to the Indians themselves... It will relieve the whole state of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those states to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the states; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way (Jackson 22-23, emphasis added).[20]

Indian leaders begged to differ from the presidential point of view. In response to President Jackson's pressure on his tribe to move past the Mississippi, the Creek Speckled Snake offered the following parable:

> Brothers! I have listened to many talks from our great father. When he first came over the wide waters, he was but a little man... very little. His legs were cramped by sitting long in his big boat, and he begged for a little land to light his fire on. But when the white man warmed himself before the Indians' fire and filled himself with their hominy, he became very large. With a step he bestrode the mountains, and his feet covered the plains and the valleys. His hand grasped the eastern and western sea, and his head rested on the moon. Then he became our Great Father. He loved his red children, and he said, 'Get a little further, lest I tread on thee...' Brothers! I have listened to a great many talks from our great father. But they always began and ended like this—'Get a little further, you are too near to me' (Speckled Snake, qtd. in Wilson 157-58).

Speckled Snake's parable occludes the coercive means deployed by the 'Great Father'[21] to convince the Indians to abandon their ancestral lands and flee from the steady spatial advance of the whites (Bender 51). Such allegedly 'natural' progress was allegorically illustrated by John Gast in his oil painting *American Progress* (1872), widely disseminated by George A. Crofutt as a chromolithograph (1873) in his magazine, *Crofutt's Western World*, soon to become the frontispiece to *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* (1879). Writes Crofutt on the reverse of the lithograph:

> This rich and wonderful country—the progress of which at the present time, is the wonder of the old world —was until recently, inhabited exclusively by the lurking savage and wild beasts of prey. If the rapid progress of the 'Great West' has surprised our people, what will those of other countries think of the 'Far West,' which was destined at an early day, to be the vast granary, as it is now the treasure chamber of our country?... In the foreground, the central and principal figure, a beautiful and charming Female, is floating

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[19] The Library of Congress (<www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Indian.html>) provides a sobering introduction to the Indian Removal Act ratified by President Jackson on May, 28, 1830, by insisting on the death toll incurred by massive Indian resistance to relocation, such as the 1838-39 coerced removal of the Cherokees. James Wilson has amply documented the Indian response to this governmental policy; for the Creek alone, see pp. 166–67; for white (the English and the New Englanders') unsympathetic response to Georgia's persecution of the Cherokee, see p. 168.

[20] A similar line of thought was pursued by President Monroe in 1825 (qtd. in Wilson 164): in presenting the governmental policy of Indian removal as paving the way for Indian progress Monroe spuriously identified removal as the better alternative to inevitable self-destruction through non-adherence to the values of (Anglo-American) civilisation.

[21] What is striking in retrospect is the juxtaposition of mythological (totemic) imagery with the vocabulary of absolutist leadership—'our Great Father'—that would culminate in paternal metaphors for political leaders, subsumable under the familiar appellation of the Christian deity. Phallogocentrism—also the butt of feminists—and imperialism appear to be blood brothers.

westward through the air bearing on her forehead the 'Star of Empire'... On the right of the picture is a city, steamships, manufactories, schools and churches over which beams of light are streaming and filling the air —indicative of civilization. The general tone of the picture on the left declares darkness, waste and confusion... Fleeing from 'Progress'... are Indians, buffaloes, wild horses, bears, and other game, moving Westward, ever Westward... The 'Star' is *too much for them* (Crofutt 236, original emphasis).

O'Sullivan only hinted at the civilising role of the whites in the New World; Crofutt, however, trumpets it by employing a time-honoured European justification of imagologies and expansionism alike: the indigenous peoples were savage tribes incapable of decent living. Crofutt's imputation of monstrosity to a designated other appeals to what Jeffrey Cohen calls the "technique of monsterization"[22] whereby the self-styled bearers of normality-civilisation legitimise their (imperialist) 'civilising' cum annihilation strategy (Cohen 34).[23]

Like O'Sullivan, Crofutt subscribes to the Enlightenment idea of progress as an uninterrupted onward march, as another American, Herman Melville, would do in his novel *White-Jacket: or, The World in a Man-of-War* (1850). Melville's predestination-talk and appeal to American exemplariness (Melville 150-51), Winthrop's legacy, were already common tropes in the age, as John C. Frémont's popular cartography of 1842, 1843-44 *Report and Map* also suggests (Gano). Like all his Anglo-American predecessors and contemporaries, Melville makes big claims for and on behalf of "the New World that is ours" (151)—read: the Anglo-Americans'—thus: "*God has predestinated [sic], mankind expects, great things from our race*; and great things we feel in our souls... We are the pioneers of the world... sent on *through the wilderness of untried things, to break a new path in the New World that is our*s" (Melville 150-51, emphasis added).[24]

Inflected with "social Darwinism" and "racial science" (Youngberg 323-24),[25] O'Sullivan's and Melville's messianism becomes overt racial talk in Rev. Josiah Strong's books, ever since *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885). White-Jacket (150) used the word 'race' as a metonym for Americans; *Our Country* appoints the "Anglo-Saxon race" as the custodian and enforcer of Christianity engaged in a civilising mission worldwide. Melville proclaimed prophetically that "embracing one continent of earth" was the Americans' God-given "first birth-right... for a future inheritance" (150); in chapter 13, "The Anglo-Saxon and the World's Future," Strong urges that Americans[26] conquer the world so as to successfully impose the supreme values of Christianity:

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[22] Such 'monsterization' is a strategy neither of modern expansionism nor exclusively of expansionism proper as much as of dispossession. Debra Strickland shows that the other as either a monster-savage or a nation incapable of self-government is the Graeco-Roman legacy to the modern world, crafted in theories of correspondences and physiognomy which medieval Christianity moralised for the benefit of its ruling (white) male elite.

[23] 'The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction' (Bhabha 70).

[24] Nonetheless, Melville had come to disparage the Anglo-Saxon race by 1876, as testifies his poem *Clarel*: "Hated by myriads dispossessed / Of rights—the Indians East and West, / These [the Anglo-Saxons] pirates of the sphere!... / Who in the name of Christ and Trade /... / Deflower the world's last sylvan glade!" (qtd. in Bellah, *The Broken Covenant* 57-58).

[25] By the time Strong published *Our Country* (1885), "[i]ntellectuals had absorbed the language of Herbert Spencer's 'struggle for survival' and Darwin's notion of 'natural selection' and transferred them to races and nations" (Bender 55). Romantic theories of differences among peoples came to be inflected (and reflected upon) scientifically in the 'racial science' as much promoted by Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853-55), the American school of anthropology, Senator Albert Beveridge and permeating (male WASP) public opinion, as it was rampant in Britain and Germany (Bender 55; Jenkins 166-68; Ricento 626; Thompson 362-63).

[26] Strong's broad use of the term Anglo-Saxons "include[s] all English-speaking peoples" (Strong 161); however, further reflections on the politico-religious differences between Britain and the US show that Strong extols the virtues of the American (white Protestant male) people and their polity (165-73) as a thinly disguised avatar of the ancient translatio imperii. To garner support for his views, he quotes various popular writers in their praise of

It is not necessary to argue... that the two great needs of mankind, that all men may be lifted up into the light of the highest Christian civilization, are, first, a pure, spiritual Christianity, and, second, civil liberty. Without controversy, these are the forces which, in the past, have contributed most to the elevation of the human race, and they must continue to be, in the future, the most efficient ministers to its progress. *It follows, then, that the Anglo-Saxon, as the great representative of these two ideas, the depositary of these two greatest blessings, sustains peculiar relations to the world's future, is divinely commissioned to be, in a peculiar sense, his brother's keeper*. Add to this the fact of his rapidly increasing strength in modern times, and we have well nigh a demonstration of his *destiny*... It seems to me that God, *with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future*. Heretofore there has always been in the history of the world a comparatively unoccupied land westward, into which the crowded countries of the East have poured their surplus populations. But the widening waves of migration, which millenniums ago rolled east and west from the valley of the Euphrates, meet today on our Pacific coast. There are no more new worlds... The time is coming when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence will be felt here as it is now felt in Europe and Asia. Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history—*the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled* [original emphasis]... *Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it*—the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—*having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth... And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the "survival of the fittest"?*... "At the present day," says Mr. Darwin, "*civilized nations are everywhere supplanting barbarous nations, excepting where the climate opposes a deadly barrier*; and they succeed mainly, though not exclusively, through their arts, which are the products of the intellect..." It seems as if *these inferior tribes were only precursors of a superior race*, voices in the wilderness crying: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord!"... (Strong 161, 173, 174-5, 176, emphasis added).

Providential intervention, Strong avers, manifests itself as the honing of an elect race for "the final competition of races" whereby to conquer the earth once Turner's frontier has closed.[27] His Spencerian "survival of the fittest" quotation only thinly disguises the imperialist drive of a hegemonic ethnic group self-identified as a whole *nation*—styled a race by Strong—whose "aggressive traits" (175) he unabashedly extols as required for the success of the highest values of civilisation. For Strong, God is the mastermind and couch of the Anglo-American race, which he drives forth south and further on to colonise the whole world. Unsurprisingly, the traditional "New Israel" American favourite trope is cast by Strong in bellicose garb. Yet, while like in the books of Genesis (15.18-21) and Exodus (3.6-8), the Promised Land is not an "empty frontier," which is inconsequential to Strong, here Darwin's *The Descent of Man* (1871) provides the scientific *argumentum ad verecundiam*, if any was needed, to supplement the Bible: the supersession of civilisations in early history (Darwin 160), or *translatio imperii*, shores up Strong's argument for a supersession of (nation-)*races*.

Yet extolling the civilising mission of "the American people"—actually the WASP *males*—did not even originate with O'Sullivan and Strong or their colonist forefathers. Rather, the Christian-and-civilising-

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Americans, among whom features Darwin with his theory of natural selection (Strong 170). Strong's paean is compounded with staggering statistics of the US demographic and imperialist expansion so as to represent one fifth of humanity and rule over one third of the globe (161-63).

[27] According to "The Frontier in American History," a paper which historian Frederick Jackson Turner delivered during the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago to the World Congress of Historians and later published as chapter 1 of *The Frontier in American History* (1921), the ever-receding border "between savagery and civilization" closed in 1890, which ended the "first period of American history" (Turner, qtd. in Stephenson). As Jenkins (164) argues, American imperialism in the 1880s was, with its distinctive 'civilising mission' battle-cry, but another side of imperialism as practised by western European states.

mission trope undergirded western European explorers' self-appointed task to seize the New World for... God and thereby save the souls of the 'heathens' inhabiting it. Christopher Columbus (qtd. in Gaustad, Schmidt 16-17) and the English Protestant clergymen Richard Hakluyt the Younger (1552?–1616) (qtd. in Gaustad, Schmidt 33-34) and Samuel Purchas (1577-1626), as well as anonymous clergymen and missionaries (qtd. in Gaustad, Schmidt 12-13), pondered their Christian mission in America. Charters could occasionally invoke religious motivations for European settlement there, as did the First Charter of Virginia (1606).[28] Only rarely did some of the European colonists decry the cost in human lives which evangelisation was incurring, as did Dominican missionary Bartholomew Las Casas in 1516 (qtd. in Gaustad, Schmidt 18), thus earning himself the sobriquet "Defender of the Indians", and a Franciscan friar writing in 1601 to the Spanish viceroy to protest against Don Juan de Onate's massacre of New Mexico Indians in 1595 (qtd. in Gaustad, Schmidt 21).

Conclusions

To conclude, in John O'Sullivan and Josiah Strong's texts, national cum racial supremacy, a common trope for western European discourse too, was forged discursively as much by extolling American virtues —deemed uniquely equitable towards other peoples, unlike Europe's—as by promising a paradoxically transnational and transcultural world. The latter, however, could only come to life by prior conquest and forceful imposition of American values, deemed universalistic Christian ones worth disseminating, just as the European colonists had done in the name of Christianity in the early days. Yet to "the American people" as the best exemplar of the highest spiritual virtues could not conceivably belong Native Americans, the Black and generally the coloured people, some of them recent immigrants, nor (white) Catholics, Jews or Muslims, let alone women.[29] Similar 'scientific' (social Darwinist) arguments and eugenic policies underpinned US immigration acts at the turn of the 20th century,[30] in a more general Euro-American climate of opinion that fostered nationalistic expressions of xenophobia and racism as infamous as Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925-26) and the Third Reich's anti-Jewish exterminatory policy. Before transculturalism became food for the theorists' thought, it could well mean in practice the self-styled

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[28] The First Charter of Virginia (April, 10, 1606) declares that the colony was established "by the providence of God" and for the propagation of the Christian religion (of Protestant persuasion) to those peoples who "as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God," it also insists that the native inhabitants adopt the civility and governmental ways of their colonisers. By contrast, the early royal charters issued to Christopher Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabella (April, 30, 1492), to John Calbot and his sons by Henry VII (February, 3, 1498) and to Walter Raleigh by Elizabeth I (1584), as well as those issued by France (December, 18, 1603) and the Netherlands (March, 27, 1614), are largely concerned with the administration of the would-be new-found lands and their discoverers' rewards, and in England's case with territorial—but not religious—expansion and the settlers' government of the new territories in accordance with English law in matters administrative, commercial, political and religious. All this may happen, in (some of) the charters' wording, by the grace of God, but not professedly so as to propagate the Christian gospel.

[29] Already in the 1830s slavery could be justified by appeal to racial science, which conflated arguments of biological and historical determinism regarding socio-political inequity and slavery. Nor was the rhetorical argument unprecedented: in medieval England, Jews belonged to the Crown literally as chattel, servi camerae regis ('Serfs of the Royal Chamber'), which echoed conciliar and papal pronouncements.

[30] The US Immigration Act of 1882 identifies as inadmissibles both convicts and incapacitated immigrants (Session I, Chapter 376, Section 2). Also passed in 1882, the first Chinese Exclusion Act suspended immigration by Chinese labourers for ten years; the measure was extended in 1892 (the Geary Act) and a permanent ban was enacted in 1902 (the Scott Act). With the Immigration Act of 1924 (the Johnson-Reed Act, sections 11-12) a national-origins quota system was created, whose racial criteria were not eliminated from the US immigration laws until the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (the Hart-Cellar Act).

hegemonic group's denial of the cogency of cultural differences by identifying the *lacking virtues of out-groups* and setting off to correct the case by *conquest*.

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Suturing Adversity in Estranged Spaces: Kairos and Meaning Making in Women's Needlework Samplers

Abstract: The proposed paper takes as its object of investigation the overlooked and often despised category of women's domestic arts as sites of important cultural, social and rhetorical work. Specifically, this paper explores the complex relationship between women and needlework stitched in times and places of adversity, such as prisons, charity schools, and orphanages. How do women respond to such adversity in creating a silken communication? What function do the pieces they stitched serve? How do these pieces offer new insights into women's lives and material conditions? While current work on women and material culture has focused primarily on women as consumers, this paper provides case studies of women as producers of needlework, turning to 'local' or 'situated knowledge', to justify the claim that women's stitching can be interpreted as an epistemic activity, defined as gendered. Here I also argue for touch and the dexterity of the practiced hand as ways of knowing and demonstrate not only the deep knowledge of the material used, but also the creation and communication of knowledge about women's material condition, as definitions of their rhetorical engagement. As such, women's manipulation of the world is central to constructing social meanings that operate beyond the traditionally prescribed (and circumscribed) boundaries typically occupied by women.

Keywords: women, material culture, needlework, embodied knowledge, situated knowledge, material literacy.

Introduction

Malea Powell observes, "History isn't a dead and remembered object; it is alive and it speaks to us. We are obligated not just to our ancestors out of whose lives we 'make' that history but also to the places and spaces, and the living things therein who remember them and-through them-remember us" (121-22). In this essay, I turn to some of the adverse spaces and places[31] in which historically young women have stitched (e.g., charity schools, orphannages, and prisons) to examine how both space and place leave a mark on what gets stitched, how it is stitched, and why it is stitched. How do women respond to adversity in needle and thread? What function do these stitched pieces serve? How do these pieces offer new insights into the "lives and... experiences of [material] conditions of women"?[32] My focus in this paper then is on the material practice of stitching and the impact of space and place in that practice.

While current work on women and material culture has focused primarily on women as consumers, this paper provides case studies of women who were producers of needlework, engaging in "gendered

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[31] I use place to refer to a physical, material location and space to refer to a state of mind, a metaphorical sense of place. As Anthony Giddens and Martina Löw have theorized on the duality of space whereby spaces both constrain and permit action whereby both the location and the perception are the outcomes of constituting place.

[32] See June Hannam who makes the argument that "[t]he emphasis on language and discourse has challenged old feminist certainties about lived experience, the nature of women's subordination and the use of the category woman. There has been a shift away from an interest in the material conditions of women's lives towards a concern with representation, symbolism, discourse and the text" (Hannam online). While I agree that the emphasis on discursive matters broadly conceived challenges old feminist certainties, especially about "the nature of women's subordination and the use of the category woman", I don't agree that material conditions of women's lives can be divorced from discourse; thus, I examine both.

material practices" that are best understood as epistemic. Here, I argue that women's engagement with the material world is not only informed by a deep knowledge of the materials used, but women's manipulation of the material world is also central to constructing social, political, economic, and cultural meanings that operate well beyond the traditionally prescribed (and circumscribed) boundaries occupied by women. Women thus participate in the creation, maintenance, and communication of various knowledges. As historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has demonstrated with her own work on women and textiles, the ways in which women have manipulated the material world bear scrutiny as legitimate subjects of social, political, cultural, and economic history.

To justify claims that women's needlework can be interpreted as an epistemic activity, I turn to two key concepts: "situated knowledges" (sometimes referred to as local knowledge) and "embodied knowledge." Both of these concepts have been posited by feminists as a way to destabilize the dominant validation of disembodied, abstract thinking.[33] Situated knowledge invokes a geographic metaphor of place—knowledge emerges out of the specifics of a particular location (and time).[34] Embodied knowledge reconnects the abstract—or whatever may be called "truth," "facts" or "ideas"—with the body's ways of knowing. However, what is left out of these two formulations—implied by them, but not articulated—is the interaction between the body and the place, and this interaction can be conceptualized as the domain of the hand—that bodily part which engages with and transforms the materiality of the place, space, and time. As Grace Fong notes in her examination of "embroidery as a knowledge field," "through embroidery as practice and knowledge, individual women were able to create a space of local and limited empowerment for themselves and other women" (2). While Fong focuses on literary representations of embroidery to make her case, I turn to the actual material objects of embroidery to argue for the hand as an epistemic instrument.

Privileging the hand over the eye (though the eye is key to what the hand can accomplish) might undo the way in which the eye has been co-opted by thinkers as the mind's tool of investigation. Though eyes are just as embodied as the hands, philosophy has managed to elevate the status of eyes, by making them central to the way in which we conceive of knowing ("I see" equals "I understand"). Patricia Spyer has aptly called this privileged focus on the eye "ocularcentrism." Here I argue for touch as key to knowing one's materials, and the dexterity of the practiced hand, for knowing how to transform those materials.[35]

More specifically, I turn to five samplers constructed under material conditions, times, spaces, and places of adversity to show how knowledges constructed and circulated through the stitched works are

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[33] See Donna Haraway's "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." Foucault's work on the body as a site for disciplinarity has been foundational in bringing the body back into cultural history. See, for example, *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality*. For an overview of Foucault's impact on embodied knowledge, see Arthur Frank, and Felix Driver.

[34] See, for example, Carl Knappett who argues: "We should not treat objects as individual, isolated items; attention must be devoted to both their spatial and temporal situatedness. The former refers to the complex environment of human and non-human objects in which individual artifacts are enmeshed. The latter consists of an artifact's location within the flow of time, and how that artifact is experienced by agents over the course of a life time" (62-63). To Knappett's argument, I'd add an artifact's location in place/space is just as important as temporal location. Hence, I draw on the concept of kairos, the rhetorical construct of "right time and place" for a particular piece of rhetoric. There is lots of disagreement over what constitutes kairos, but treatment of the debate is out of the scope of this piece. See, for example, Sipiora and Baumlin.

[35] Pamela Smith's concept of material literacy is an artisanal epistemology whereby one gains "knowledge neither through reading nor writing but through a process of experience and labor. Rather than producing a 'lettered man,' such literacy has the goal of making knowledge productive" (76) comes close to what we are arguing here. However, we see no need to disconnect reading and writing practices from experience and labor practices; indeed the knowing hand is central to writing practices.

tied to space and place as well as to the dexterity of hand: I begin with a sampler that comes from an English charity school.

Charity Schools

In England, charity schools, also called Bluecoat Schools, date back to the mid-16th century and were originnally erected and maintained in various parishes by donations from the congregations. By the 19th century, English elementary schools were predominantly charity schools. These schools mainly taught poor children to read and write, and, in some cases, how to do arithmetic, geography, sewing, and knitting. The goal of a charity school education was to prepare young people for trades or services, and so the curriculum reflected this goal. Thus, religious organizations usually provided clothing and education to students freely or at little charge. They were dubbed Bluecoat Schools because the color blue was typically used for children's' charity school uniforms as it was the cheapest dye then available for clothing. Socks were typically dyed in saffron as it was thought that the color golden yellow would stop rats from nibbling the pupils' ankles. This caution calls attention to another indicator of the type of place charity school pupils inhabited.

Figure 1.
Bluecoat Boy statue from St. Mary Kensington Charity School.
Courtesy of *The Anglophone*.
Photograph by Thomas Moore.

Figure 1 displays one of two statues created by the mason Thomas Rustace in 1712 that mark the entrance to St. Mary Kensington Charity School on High Street in Kensington, London. The young bluecoat boy holds a plaque that reads: "I was naked and ye clothed me." Boys and girls were usually taught separately, and at this school the two doors to the old school are still labeled "Boys" and "Girls."

Figure 2.
Sampler from Kensington School,London, *circa*
19th century.
Courtesy of Witney Antiques.

Figure 2 displays a sampler stitched by one of the young girls trained at the St. Mary Kensington Charity School. She worked it in red silk on gauze, creating four different alphabets, one set of numerals, and crowns for "King," "England," and "Queen." This work is a marking sampler, a genre typically taught to lower class girls to prepare them for service work. This sampler shows that this student had control of her needle and could do rudimentary work with the needle, marking linens, and mending. This genre often circulated as a *curriculum vitae* to show future employers that a young girl knew how to sew. In 1840 needlework was "expected" in all English national schools for girls; it became compulsory in 1862, part of an education designed to train women for service and housekeeping.

Prominent in the bottom part of the sampler is the name of the school: "Kensington. II. School." Missing is the name of the needleworker, though name was a common feature of marking samplers. Because this piece left off the maker's name, it may have been an early school exercise, or perhaps the teacher wanted to draw attention to the name of the school because it may have been a piece that was meant to be sold. Many charity schools did sell needlework to collect funds for maintaining schools. The lack of the stitcher's name renders this an anonymous piece—one of many hand wrought by children of poor economic backgrounds who were treated as indistinguishable. What is clear in this piece of work is that *place* gets prominently displayed as an important focus. That is, the charity school itself is what is distinguished. If it were not for charity or bluecoat schools, many poor children would not have received any kind of training to prepare them for work in service or trade. For young women, becoming skilled at the needle for mending, marking, and making clothing was essential if they were to secure a position in a household, one of the few career opportunities open to them in the 19th century.[36]

Another form of the charity school was the Sunday school, a movement started in England by Robert Raikes (1735-1811), a publisher and philanthropist.[37] In 1805 King George III stated, "It is my wish that

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[36] The limited opportunities for 19th-century women are captured by Geraldine Clifford's title "Marry, Stitch, Die or Do Worse."

[37] The story in North America was slightly different as the rapid growth of the Sunday school movement was largely due to two women: Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810) and Hannah More (1745-1833). Sarah Trimmer, a writer and critic of children's literature, was a philanthropist who founded several charity schools and Sunday schools. She also wrote manuals and textbooks for women who were interested in starting their own schools; profit from these books helped further other educational projects. Trimmer's work inspired others such as Hannah Moore to found Sunday schools.

every poor child in my dominions be taught the Holy Scripture" (qtd. in Perkin 37). Many Sunday Schools fulfilled this wish. Figure 3 shows a sampler stitched by Alice Alcock in 1846 when she attended the Bennett Street Sunday School in Manchester, England. The Bennett Street Sunday School, first situated in premises on Gun Street and Primrose Street, was founded in 1801 by David Stott (1771-1846). In 1818 a new building was erected by public subscription and built on Bennett Street.

Figure 3:
Alice Alcock's 1846 English
sampler. Courtesy of Witney Antiques.

Alice Alcock's sampler is particularly noteworthy because it records and prominently displays the sources of funding for the new building; these appear alongside a picture of the new Bennett Street Sunday School. The four-story building with separate entrances for girls and boys takes up nearly half of the sampler. To the left are stitches that say: "Total cost of Erecting The Building £2524. Subscriptions from the Teachers and Scholers [sic] £802. Do[nations] from The Trustees Visitors and Friends £1218." On the right, she continues: "Balance of rent & c[ash] received by the Trustees and applied to the Liquidation of the debt on the School 504. Total £2524."

With these lines, Alice demonstrates that she knows how to stitch numbers and perhaps how to do rudimentary math-skills necessary for her to secure a service position somewhere. Students were taught reading (to read the Bible), sewing, and knitting; however, religious instruction was the primary function of the Sunday school. That biblical education is evident on this sampler. To the left, the phrase "Feed my Sheep" appears and to the right, "Feed my Lambs" both references to John 21:15 where Jesus asks Peter to "feed my sheep" and "feed my lambs" after he's been resurrected.

Why was this sampler stitched in 1846? We might speculate that since this was the year its founder, David Stott, passed away that it was assigned to Alice (and perhaps other students) to honor his memory. Whatever the reason, *place* and *space* take center stage in this sampler as both the school and the financial record of the subscriptions used to build it claim a good deal of space in this piece. This fine sampler makes a great CV to be shown for securing a service position and for establishing the source of Alice's education. It no doubt left an indelible mark on her memory of where she studied, a proud impressive place and her stitching accomplishment that showed she was clearly ready for stitching in service.

From Bluecoat and Sunday schools, we move to orphanages where the young were also trained for service and labors of different kinds.

Hannah More's father, Jacob More, was a schoolteacher who made sure his daughters were well educated. Hannah learned that lesson well and was ripe for Trimmer's influence. Despite many protests, Hannah More helped to set up twelve schools that focused on teaching reading (especially for the Bible and Catechism). She also donated money to Bishop Philander Chase, founder of Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio in 1824.

Orphanages

Cheltenham Female Orphan Asylum (see Fig. 4) was located in Gloucestershire, England. It was founded in 1806 as a charitable institution by Queen Charlotte (1744-1818), wife of King George III (1738-1820), and later patronized by Queen Victoria and her daughter-in-law Queen Alexandra.
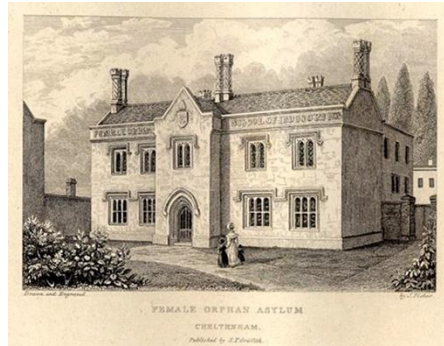
Figure 4.
Cheltenham Female Orphan Asylum. Postcard by J. Fisher distributed
in the 19th century. It was published by Griffith and appears in
Griffith's *History*
of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity
(16).

Starting as a school of industry for poor girls, it evolved to become a female orphan asylum (which it was in 1838 when the picture in figure 4 was drawn and engraved by J. Fisher and published in *Griffiths History of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity* by Samuel Griffith); it eventually became a public orphanage. The young girls there were taught needlework, and were expected to do plain work sewing for the public at a price, and fancywork occasionally for raising funds. Griffith provides a chart of the list of charges in 1826 for a variety of plain work items from shirts, to child's shifts, plain petticoats, and so on along with baby linen (16). People were to bring their material already cut out according to a pattern. If they brought uncut material and a pattern, an extra charge was added on. These tasks helped to fund the Orphanage, and helped to train the girls for service as this was precisely the kind of work they would be expected to do.

In addition to consumer goods, young girls worked on needlework samplers, such as this one by Monemia Hanly dated August 1, 1843 (see fig. 5). In this sampler, young Monemia stitches a hymn, *The Orphan's Prayer* (also known as *The Orphan's Hymn*) by Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775-1818). Most likely she sang this piece in church while she was at the Cheltenham Female Orphan Asylum. Here are the four verses she stitches:

Anonymous. *The Orphan's Hymn*

Where shall the child of sorrow fiind
A place for calm repose?
Thou, Father of the fatherless,
Pity the orphan's woes!

What friend have I in heaven or earth,
What friend to trust but thee?
My father's dead-my mother's dead;
My God, remember me!

Thy gracious promise now fulfil,
And bid my trouble cease;
In thee the fatherless shall find
Pure mercy, grace and peace.

I've not a secret care or pain,
But he that secret knows;
Thou, Father of the fatherless,
Pity the orphan's woes!
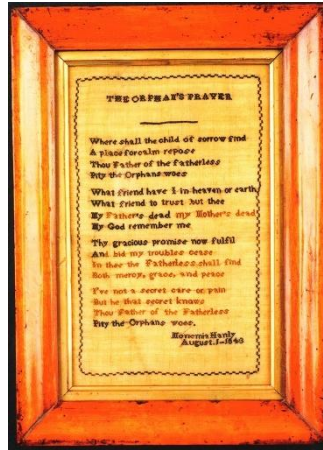
Figure 5:
Monemia Hanly's 1848 Plain Text
Sampler. Courtesy of Witney Antiques.

The lyrics in this 19th-century hymn draw attention to the *space* and *place* in which Monemia Hanly found herself—alone with no parents and facing life in an orphanage. The hymn begins by focusing on *place* and *space*: "Where shall the child of sorrow find/A place for calm repose?" Here "place" can be read as both a physical place where she can find solace and a metaphorical space for calmness in the mind. The hymn then prays "My God, remember me!" and asks God to "Pity the orphan's woes!" Thus, the two senses—place and space—are central to this hymn. This sense of *space* in needlework is embedded in a sampler made by Lorina Bulwer in *circa* 1900 when she was a resident in the female lunatic ward of the Great Yarmouth Workhouse. As the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service website notes, "in the sampler, Lorina tells the reader stories about her life and her family, including how she feels about being in the workhouse. She is furious at finding herself in there, with few rights and labeled a lunatic" (Norfolk). Space—the perception of place—is a palpable key in many samplers wrought in adverse places.

Cross-stitched in black and red thread, Hanley's sampler represents early training in needlework as cross-stitch was one of the first stitches a young child learned. Most marking samplers contain cross-stitch and most were constructed in red thread (as the Kensington sampler shows) even though red was the most expensive thread. Because these samplers were meant to show that the needleworker knew how to stitch and, specifically, how to mark linens, red reflected the color typically used for marking personal clothes and household linens. Therefore, it is not clear what Hanly's reasoning was for switching her colors between black and red unless she worked only with what was readily available. What is also not clear is whether this was a schoolroom piece or whether it was done to sell to raise funds. What is clear is the pressure of place—the orphanage—and of space in which she finds herself—as both are prominent in her work. Did stitching these verses bring her comfort or more distress? It is hard to say, but having spent time

stitching these lines, Hanly no doubt remembered them throughout her life, such is the power of space and place on memory and such is the power of handwork.

Prison

There are many genres of needle-work samplers: marking samplers, memorial samplers, genealogical samplers, friendship samplers, map samplers, verse and picture samplers—to name just a few. The genres mark their maker's gender, class, region and place. One common group of English school-girl samplers is known as "fancywork." Elizabeth White Nelson teases out the complex meaning of the term "fancywork":

> The word itself contained a dichotomy between pleasure and profit that was at the heart of the middle-class market culture. *Fancy* was the opposite of utilitarian. It implied leisure, aesthetic taste, and gentility but had overtones of frivolity. *Work* tempered this impression of flightiness and linked fancywork to the virtue associated with production... As a labor of leisure, fancywork embodied the dilemma that faced middle-class women: their leisure was an important and visible marker of class, but their idleness raised anxieties about the dissipation of the rich. Because fancywork was, by definition, both leisure and work, it carried the cachet of feminine accomplishment and deflected accusations of idleness (Nelson 132).

Marla Miller adds that "throughout the nineteenth century, fancywork helped growing numbers of middle-class and working-class women resist the encroachments of industrial capitalism, by allowing women to domesticate products of mass production as they selected and reworked them into artful reflections of a more personal aesthetic" (214). Typically, fancywork samplers were taught and created by middle—and upper class women. Some working class women created these to sell, though few were taught the skills to make them. Fancywork samplers were proudly displayed by upper socioeconomic parents who wanted to show their daughter's accomplishments with the needle as well as her virtuous demeanor. But sometimes the two accomplishments were at odds with each other.

An example of a fancywork sampler can be found in Figure 6. This piece was carefully stitched by Annie Parker in 1882 while she was a prisoner at Bedford Gaol. She used her own hair for thread and created this sampler as a gift for Robert Evans Roberts[38] then Governor of Bedford Gaol[39] a position he held from 1855 to 1886 (Stockdale).

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[38] In addition, Governor Roberts was innovative in his use of photography to record prisoners. Records of all the photographs from the prison register for the years 1859 to 1877 are currently available in the website Bedford Gaol at www.schools. bedfordshire.gov.uk/gaol.

[39] For detailed information about Bedford Gaol, see 19th Century Bedford Gaol at http://www.schools.bedfordshire.gov.uk/gaol/contents.htm

Figure 6:
Annie Parker's 1882 Fancywork Hair
Sampler. Courtesy of Witney Antiques.

Just three years after she completed this piece in August 1885, Annie passed away from consumption in the Greenwich Union Infirmary at the early age of 37. At the time of her death, she was serving another sentence in Bedford Gaol. Annie had served many times in Bedford Gaol as she had been charged with drunkenness over 400 times; she thus spent the greater part of her adult life in prison. In an August 1885 article in the *Daily Chronicle*, which covered Annie's death, Annie was described as "well educated" and a "model prisoner." The fine work on this complex sampler gives evidence of her good education and upper class background.

The sampler in Figure 6 was one of several that she made while imprisoned.[40] Claire Smith points out that "there is a longstanding affiliation between confinement and creative. While restricting the movement of the human form, prisons, workhouses, internment camps, hospitals and asylums have long been the site of great imagination and industry" (1). Annie's sampler is a "site of great imagination and industry." By using her own hair as thread, Annie followed a technique common in the 19th century for creating special gifts to bestow on relatives and dear friends. Thus she must have held Governor Roberts in high regard. Around the edge is careful crochet work in a lace-like pattern. With her dark hair, she stitches in fine detail four verses from the hymnal *My God, My Father, While I Stray*[41] authored by Charlotte Elliot (1789-1871) and composed by Johann D. Meyer (b. 1821). It was most likely a hymn Annie sang in church at the Gaol. In the last panel is a verse from Psalm 79:11 of the *King James Bible* where she addresses both God and Governor Roberts. She stitches that she created this work with her own hair in January 1882 and presented it to R. E. Roberts. In direct contrast to this eloquent piece of work, Annie must have found imprisonment a difficult and adverse experience in a confined place and a troubled space.

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[40] The exact number of embroidered pieces Annie created is not known but a few pieces exist in collections such as a pincushion worked in hair now at the Black Museum of Scotland Yard and another hair sampler in the collection of H. M. Prison Service in Newbold Revel, London.

[41] The lyrics to *My God, My Father, While I Stray*: **"**My God, My Father, While I Stray"/My God, my Father, while I stray/ Far from my home on life's rough way/ Oh, teach me from my heart to say,/ "Thy will be done"// Though dark my path and sad my lot, /Let me be still and murmur not /Or breathe the prayer divinely taught, /"Thy will be done"/ What though in lonely grief I sigh /For friends beloved, no longer nigh, /Submissive still would I reply- /"Thy will be done"/ Though Thou hast called me to resign /What most I prized, it ne'er was mine; /I have but yielded what was Thine- /"Thy will be done" // Should grief or sickness waste away/My life in premature decay, /My Father, still I strive to say, /"Thy will be done"// Let but my fainting heart be blest /With Thy sweet Spirit for its Guest; /My God, to Thee I leave the rest- /"Thy will be done"// Renew my will from day to day; /Blend it with Thine and take away /All that now makes it hard to say, /"Thy will be done". //Then, when on earth I breathe no more, /The prayer, oft mixed with tears before, /I'll sing upon a happier shore, /"Thy will be done"//.

The lines in the hymn speak to these two kairotic conditions of space and place, beginning with the title: "My God, My Father, While I Stray." Certainly, being arrested for drunkenness multiple times could be described as "straying." Repeatedly throughout the hymn (see note 11), the refrain calls to God to teach the lesson "Thy will be done." It talks about "life's rough way," "dark my path and sad my lot," "my life in premature decay," and "in lonely grief I sigh/For friends beloved, no longer nigh." These lines call attention to the *space* (mental state) Annie was no doubt dealing with in the soberness of her cell, her place. As Bernice Archer observes about the needlework completed in the World War II Changi POW camp, stitching was "a therapeutic comfort in times of stress, with an opportunity for delicate creativity within a brutalizing environment; and an affirmation of one's existence and endurance... [I]n the overcrowded conditions of the prison most women craved space, peace, quiet and privacy where they could sit with their own thoughts" (161-62). No doubt Annie craved the same things and stitching helped her "to enter a mental space removed of the everyday" (Smith 3), for as Smith observes, "needlework can be seen as a tool which offered not only a practical skill, but also a state of enlightened contemplation" (3). In short, "in an environment of finite choices and extensive periods of isolation, [stitching] allows the maker to transform hours of confinement into a period of productivity and creativity" (Smith 9). Contemplation by needle and by hymn lines is soothing.

This hymn, "My God, My Father, While I Stray," must have been important to Annie because she kept restitching it while she was in Gaol. In the hair sampler in figure 7 (another of Annie's works), Annie again stitched four verses from the Hymn *My God, My Father, While I Stray*. The first three verses are from the first three verses of the hymn but she skips the next two to stitch the sixth verse:

> Renew my will from day to day;
> blend it with thine, and take away
> all that now makes it hard to say,
> Thy will be done!

Figure 7.
Annie Parker's Hair Sampler
circa
1880. Courtesy of Witney Antiques.

Given her daily struggle with alcohol, this last verse is especially poignant. She asks for renewal of her will every day!

As in her other sampler (fig. 6), she ends with a biblical verse, this time from Matthew 11:28: "Come unto Me all that labour and/are heavy laden and I will give you/Rest."
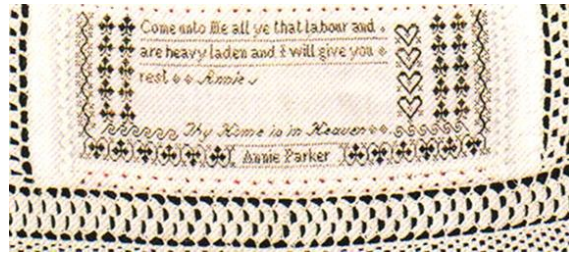
Figure 8:
Close up of the End of Annie's
c1880
Sampler

Annie was most likely "heavy laden." (See fig. 8) How else could she feel after hundreds of arrests for drinking. This is an unfinished sampler as there is a blank space at the bottom. Did Annie have an idea of whom it was for or was she meant to later figure out whom to give it to or did she do it for herself? The fabric in the sampler dates in the 1880s; but it is not clear if it was an earlier or a latter work as compared with her 1882 sampler in figure 6. Given the extraordinarily fine work of this piece, it might be speculated that it was done after 1882.

On the morning she died in August 1885 she had just given another sampler to Dr. Dixon, the assistant medical officer of the Infirmary. We don't know how many others like the ones in figures 6 and 7 she stitched. How many of these did she complete during her 400 arrests? We may never know, but what these pieces do show is that Annie Parker, who was well trained in and well experienced with her needle, was suffering under adverse conditions of place and space as she stitched. Her needlework pieces show how place and space—both physically and psychologically—are integral to creation and circulation of meaning.

Conclusions

All of the samplers examined in this discussion are marked by space and place, showing how both of these kairotic constructs are central to the creation and circulation of meaning, and how needlework functions in adverse places and spaces. Adversity in location and in mind serve as powerful conduits of creativity and production. Further, these hand-wrought pieces are also representatives of embodied meaning, crafted by practiced hands. These material practices, those that the hands perform, are a form of knowledge-making, and yet have been overlooked or ignored as inferior to other forms of expression or thinking that appear to leave the material world behind. Dewey's analysis of the way in which we tend to value the immaterial over the material aptly sums up what is at stake in this argument:

> The depreciation of action, of doing and making, has been cultivated by philosophers... There is also the age-long association of knowing and thinking with imamterial and spiritual principles, and of the arts, of all practical activity in doing and making, with matter. For work is done with the body... is directed upon material things. The disrepute which has attended the thought of material things in comparison with immaterial thought has been transferred to everything associated with practice.
> The mundane processes and concrete materials that make up what gets called "crafts" are usually overlooked or if acknowledged, perceived as debased or beneath what is considered that which is

disembodied or abstract and rises "above" its circumstances of production. Not coincidently these practices and materials are gendered as feminine (Dewey 22).

This paper challenges this hierarchy and calls for attending to everyday situated and embodied knowledge as "creating both personal and historical legacies" (Pritchard 1) and, by that, rescuing women of all classes from, obscurity.

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Feminine Representations of the Bucharest Statuary—A Gender Perspective

Abstract: Bucharest society started to be concerned about its public space at the end of the 19th century, as a result of the western influence. It is quite interesting that in a semi-oriental society where women used to stay indoors most of the time, two of the early Bucharest statues are women's representations: Princess Bălaşa and Ana Davila are feminine representations. Both are accompanied by inscriptions which explain their role in the city life. The first important public building also offered the possibility of locating some neoclassical feminine representations having a symbolic value (homeland, industry, art). The purpose of this paper is to analyse those representations and texts which accompany them from a communicational perspective. The main working hypothesis concerns their implication in modelling Bucharest's public space. The study represents the result of research done by the Research Centre of Foreign Language and Communication Chair—TUCB and some students from the NUAB Bucharest.

Keywords: communication, statues, public space, gender perspective, representations

Public Space and Its Landmarks

To understand the meaning and the role of statues in defining Romanian society around the year 1900, a short historical reconstruction of how public space was designed, as a representation of a changing society, is necessary. In none of the two capitals of the Romanian Principalities was the design of urban space among the leaders' purposes. Bucharest developed around churches or some important residences. Trade and foreign communities gathered on some streets near the royal residence.[42] Churches were considered the most reliable landmarks and the neighbourhoods gathered around them. So there was no need for statues.

Before the first decades of the 19th century, Bucharest public urban space was unclear, non-representative, oriental, but without the charm of real oriental towns or the fame and historic heritage of Istanbul. To define a public space, three main 'actors' have to participate: members of the surrounding community, local authorities, professionals (architects, sculptors and social workers). Unfortunately, most of them were absent in 19th century Bucharest, otherwise they would have created a public life in need of a public space to be represented. As a German architect Sabine Hentzsch said when launching an European project at Galateca Gallery,[43] "public space is not just gathering some streets and buildings."

At that time public life centered around churches, markets, aristocratic residences and collective memory was marked by fountains (around which women use to gather) and crosses, erected to

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[42] Some streets in Bucharest received their names according to their inhabitants: Strada Franceză (<French), Lipscani (<Leipzig), strada Nemţească (<Germans).

[43] She curates with Marius Babias a project with both artistic and socio-economic implications—Spaţiul Public Bucureşti | Public Art Bucharest 2007. Its horizon of development has been already announced on April 20, 2007, its launching date: The project would include a series of artistic projects, public debates and media interventions, intending to confront the public with social developments, to initiate public debates and the cultural contribution to the development of democracy.

commemorate events such as a battle or an important personality.[44] Even today, in the 21st century, in the middle of the University Square, on a little island, ten old stone crosses pay respect to those killed during the 1989 Revolution. Since the 17th century, on one of the city's few hills, known as Mitropoliei, on the alley leading to the Metropolitan Church, the stone cross of Papa Brâncoveanu, killed as his legendary son by the Turks, is wittness to the city life. For over 150 years the city has emerged as a palimpsest, as often argued by one of its architects, Alexandru Beldiman, or "an unfinished project" in the definition of another important architect, Augustin Ioan.

In the above mentioned epoch the town had one big inside market (The Great Market) and one outside the main urban aria: Obor Market. The first urban squares appeared late in the 19th century and they are the University Square and the St. Anton. If the University Square has turned into the most famous Bucharest square, only a few people remember today that the square hidden by a row of communist blocks, in front of Manuc's Inn and close to the Old Princely Court is called St. Anton. For centuries the Orthodox Church was against tri-dimensional representations, a fact that explains the absence of statues in all Balkan cities. Moreover, without squares, there was no place or need for statues.

At the beginning of the 19th century, young Romanian aristocrats went to study in Western Europe and started to travel to Italy and Greece. Among many things they discovered was the art of statuary (Beldiman 34) and the richness of ancient culture. The first statues were bought to Romania by the young aristocrats to decorate their gardens and residences. There is still a beautiful black marbled nymph in the front garden of the Monteoru House on Calea Victoriei.

The Western Influence and the Romanian Society

An oriental town at the beginning of the 19th century, Bucharest started to turn into a European capital, and the way of shaping the public space was an important aspect leading to this new face of the town. People started to feel that they needed larger streets, squares, statues to mark the city life. The transformation was possible due to some foreign artists who came to the Romanian capital as guests, but stayed here for the rest of their life. One of the most remarkable for his contribution to the development of Romanian fine arts is Karl Storck. In the second half of the 19th century Karl Storck (1826-1887), a German artist, came to Bucharest, invited by Prince Charles I. He established the Academy of Fine Arts and introduced in the Romanian milieu the art of tri-dimensional portraits and public monuments. His work passed over the barriers of the epoch in a country where, due to the restrictions of the Orthodox religion the tri-dimensional representations were forbidden, consequently unknown. This may be one of the causes for which statues were accompanied by long texts, inscriptions which were supposed to explain the reason for which the statues were erected.

Karl Storck was not the only artist who came to Bucharest, worked for the Romanian society and finally stayed here and contributed to sculpture developement and public space design. Wladimir Hegel (the statue of C. A. Rosetti), Ernest Dubois (the statue of Brătianu, "Monumentul Cantacuzino"—The Cantacuzino Monument), Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse (the statue of Mihai Viteazul) are some of those to whom Bucharest has to be grateful. Made of marble or bronze, those statues are neoclasical representations of important personalities, their aim being that of activating public memory. Coming from countries where sculpture had a long tradition, they knew a lot of things about public space representativity and shared their knowlege with the Bucharest people who were so eager to turn their town into a west European one.

When analysing the role of sculpture in shaping collective memory, the researcher has to be aware that artistic representations and social patterns are interconnected. They share similar norms, ideologies, mentalities and symbolic elements which, together and because of their interconnectivity, create images

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[44] In Bucharest, one of the most important crosses is dedicated to Constantin Brâncoveanu's father, Papa Brâncoveanu, killed by the Turks in a revolt.

that are considered as representatives for a certain epoch or national profile. Works of art are the icon of the social representation of the human body and therefore illustrate the role of women in society. Among the first sculptures are those of two remarkable women, Princess Bălașa and Ana Davila. They are both representatives of the old Romanian aristocracy and share a tragic destiny. The city memory remembers them for their generosity and for what they did for the people of Bucharest. It should be added that their role fits the stereotypical model of an aristocratic woman at the end of the 19th century.

The Western influence determined the construction of important buildings, some of them hosting institutions which played an important role in modernising Romanian social life. Their role in the city life is underlined by rich decoration, among which one may find feminine symbolic images.

Working Hypotesysis and Research Questions

The working hypothesis to be exposed in the study, as starting point of the analysis, refers to the role of the above mentioned feminine statues—princess Bălașa and Ana Davila: the two feminine representations that were chosen for analysis are representative for modern Romanian society and for the role of feminine personalities in Bucharest public life.

This hypothesis leaded to the following main research questions:

*Are the neoclassical representations mirroring the ideal beauty of the contemporary public? To be more precise: What do they communicate to the contemporary public? Which is the role of exhibiting space in designing communicational discourse? Which of the analysed images-texts are more integrated into the national identity?

*Is the text important in decoding the meaning of each image suggested by fine art representation? Is the type of text influenced by the fact that the statue is a feminine or a male representation? Do they vary by gender? Consequently some secondary research questions have to be asked:

*Are women's identity representations due to a general cultural climate or to the artist's intention to create a specific form of identity?

*Are they just decorations or are they honouring a certain woman or are they due to the fact that certain ideas or images are associated with feminine representation?

Research Methodology

When starting this research we have found out that, at least in Romanian art history, there is a lack of already established methodologies concerning the analysis of both image and text and their role in creating a common effect on Bucharest public space. Well-known artists and researchers such as Magda Cârneci, Roxana Trestioreanu or Manuela Preda-Sanc have started to analyse Romanian art from a gender perspective, but they focus on women artists' creativity.

Therefore the methodology used for this research is that generally applied in analysing case studies. The gender theoretical background used for decoding the meaning of feminine representations does not equal women to men, but tries to discover their specific role. The analysed images are considered to be important for designing social dynamics and power relations between men and women. The role of women and, consequently, that of their representations in public space, is considered according to their implication in the development process.

Neoclassical Representations and Contemporary Sensitivity

Since the Romantic time when the old princesses' images were curved in marble by Karl Storck, the general mentality has changed and the way in which people refer to feminine body representation is completely different. The woman body has been exhibited by the advertising industry as well as by all kind of political attitudes. Feminism and all its theoretical work contributed to make the subject very interseting

yet difficult. This analysis is not going to review well-known theories such as those of Julia Kristeva or Simone de Beauvoir's. Its intention is to present the way in which neoclassical statues, some of them quite nude, are establishing a real communication with the contemporary public.

As our intention was to have a clear and objective opinion about our fellow citizens attitude, a survey was applied on around 150 passers-by. They were interviewed close to the University of Bucharest and in front of Gara de Nord[45] [the North Railway Station]. The survey questions were about statues names, role and symbolical value as well as about the impact of the texts. Most of the interviewers were not aware of the significance of the images they were passing by, nor were they impressed by their artistic value. Just a few have read the texts.

For those who are more interested in Bucharest's statuary it is obvious that the message has changed over time. The statues of Princess Balașa and that of Ana Davila are impressive because they show a great care for details, but mainly because they represent another epoch, a better period in their city life.

Feminine Representations—Defining Identity or Just Decorations?

It has to be mentioned that around the year 1900, Romanian society was still quite oriental and did not value, to a large extent, feminine personalities. Women role was to be silent and efficient, to take care of the family life and to be supportive for their husbands, either by their work or fortune. Their education focused on abilities necessary for what now we call a housewife. Yet, two of the most important monuments erected in that period, ranking among the first public monuments in Bucharest, are dedicated to two women. The first one (inaugurated in 1881), is the statue of Princess Bălașa and the second is dedicated to Ana Davila. Both were deeply involved in the public life due to their social and charity activity, spent a lot of energy and money to improve poor people life, but the impact of their image is due mainly to their tragic life. It should be considered that the then society wanted to remember them for their contribution to social development.

Daughter of the legendary martyr King Constantin Brâncoveanu, Princess Bălașa was a woman who started her life as a spoiled princess and ended it in sacrifice and tragic atmosphere.[46] At the end of her life, due to her generosity and great heart, she donated a large part of her fabulous fortune to build a hospital and a church. She recovered after the tragic death of her father and husband due to the work for the poor people of Bucharest, to whom she offered all her fortune and energy. Karl Storck, the artist chosen by her family to execute the monument, represented the princes as the main figure of medieval aristocracy, wearing the costume of the 18th century, in front of the church she had built, facing the passers-by.

The monument was curved in Carrara marble and the artist managed to depict the kind soul of the Princess. In her hand she is holding a document were there are listed the donations she had made to establish the church and the hospital. The list is quite long; therefore it underlines the importance of the donation and the social and historical importance of the represented character. On the same document the artist curved the image of the façade of the church, so that the connection between the statue and the surrounding buildings would be obvious. At the base of the monument one may read the following inscription: Princess—daughter of Constantin Brâncoveanu, King of Walachia, erected this building in 1751. These are simple and clear words which may help the contemporary passer-by imagine the gentle

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[45] Those locations were chosen because some analysed statues are situated in the area and because they are important crossways.

[46] As all the members of her family, she was imprisoned by the Turks. Her husband, his father and brothers were beheaded by the Ottomans on August, 15, 1714. After two years the princess turned to Bucharest and dedicated her life to charity.

nature and generosity of the princess.[47] At the same time, it should be mentioned that the inscription which explains the role of the statue in Bucharest collective memory does not present a difference as an inscription for a feminine representation. This fact is obvious if we compare it with that of Dinicu Golescu or with that of Spătaru Cantacuzino.

When the hospital founded by Bălașa was demolished by Nicolae Ceaușescu, both church and statue were hidden beside some ugly block of flats. Its first place was in front of the asylum founded by the generous Princess, but after its demolition the statue was moved on the place it has today[48] and practically disappeared from public life. The legends about the Brânconveanu family and the strange demolition have contributed to maintain the Princess personality and the statue into Bucharest's people memory. The text helps us remember the Princess's role in the life of the city. There is another monument of the Princess inside the church made by the same artist, but its analysis is not included in this study because it did not play a role in shaping Bucharest public space.

The second monument is dedicated to Ana Davila (1834-1874), wife of general Davila, mother of the playwright Alexandru Davila, member of another famous aristocratic family, Golescu. She tragically died when relatively young, poisoned by accident. Her connection with the Golescu family and her tragic death, so unfair for her gentle soul, turned beautiful Ana Davila into a romantic figure, in an epoch when people were ready to be impressed by tragic destinies more then by charity.

For her charity, Ana Davila worked with Elena Cuza and Queen Elisabeth, the wife of Carol I. With the queen, she established an orphanage for girls, which was named Elena Doamna [Lady Elena], a tribute paid to Elena Cuza and her activity in the benefit of the people. In the court of this institution, in front of the church one can still admire her statue, which was recently restored at the same time with the church.

She is represented wearing a national costume (the characteristic elements of the costume are depicted with great care) and holding a little girl, a symbolic representation of the orphans she used to take care of. The statue is less valuable from the artistic point of view then that of Princess Bălașa, because the artist paid too much attention to details and was less inspired when curving her face. At the base of the statue, after the name of Ana Davila written in large capital letters, the text mentions that the erection of the monument was possible due to a public subscription initiated by a committee of ladies. The text underlines the role of women in social development.

Unlike Princess Bălașa, her statue is quite unknown for most people of Bucharest. The communist regime closed the church which was damaged by German bombing in 1944, so people were not able to admire her statue. It is located in a side area; just a few people noticed it, a fact that still limits its communication with the public.

Neoclassical Statues—Symbols or Decorations?

One may notice that in the 1900 Bucharest there were many neoclassical buildings where statues were to decorate those public buildings or to represent symbols and abstract ideas. In both cases their role in building the image was a secondary one, mainly decorative. The public was helped to identify them by a title at their base. From the symbolic point of view they were quite formal. For some sculptures Industry is a woman, for others a strong lad carrying tools, a blacksmith, a carpenter. From the symbolic point of view we may notice that women are graceful and decorative, while men are representing different practical activities. A question that should be asked is why Industry is a man or a woman dressed in veils. A gender perspective analysis did not help us reach a correct conclusion.

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[47] In 1984, when the hospital was demolished and the whole Bucharest downtown was remodeled, the statue was taken away. After 1990, it was replaced on its original location.

[48] An urban legend says that when the hospital was built, a bottle with a terrible curse signed by the princess herself was buried. The curse mentioned that those who would damage the construction had to die in terrible circumstances.

One of the main examples of the epoch conception is the pediment of the University of Bucharest executed by Karl Storck[49] in 1862. This was a large composition, curved in Rusciuc limestone, which was dominated by the goddess Athena-Minerva surrounded by arts and sciences (Ott 10). The central figure, as well as some of those depicting the arts, was represented by beautiful feminine image nudes or they were dressed in veils. It was the first composition of the type made in Bucharest. This aspect, which may be considered as quite shocking today, was an homage paid to ancient arts. The figures in the pediment were gracious, elegant and suggested the beauty of young ages. The artist did not feel that he should add a text, the composition was quite narrative and the message was clear in an epoch were mythological representations were a common aspect. Nudity was not a consequence of a gender perspective, but an influence of Ancient Art, a period when the human body was worshiped no matter if masculine or feminine.

Carol Storck (1854-1926) and Frederic Storck (1872-1942) created statues which were used to decorate the façade of some important public buildings such as The Palace of Justice, the National Bank and the Postal Palace. On the façade of the Palace of Justice (1890-1895), a representative building for the French Neo-Renaissance style, the passer-by can still admire four statues representing Force, Eloquence, Vigilance and Vigour. They are images of beautiful young women created in the classic style, draped in ancient veils or tunics, showing suggestive attitudes. The same sculptor created the statue named Electricity for the façade of the Postal Palace. This represents a young woman, draped with a veil (half naked), holding in her arm a torch and having a star on her head, both elements as suggestions of electricity. It is quite unusual that a woman was chosen to represent Electricity and there are no testimonies to explain why the artist had this conception.

All the described statues have a label with their allegoric name at the base. We do not know if those were really necessary in the epoch when people were more familiar with such representations, but obviously they are necessary today. The texts, at least a title, are necessary elements today when passers-by are less familiar with mythology, and when certain explanations could help communication. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that postmodernism, with its flexible interpretation, is an open world where guides are not necessary.

Other monuments erected around the year 1900 used feminine representations of women at the basis of the statues. Most of them were symbols of the Homeland who paid homage to different personalities. From a gender perspective it has to be mentioned that they are staying in a humble position, worshiping the male personality. The representations are rather conventional and the women are either dressed in national costume or wearing veils. Representative examples are those of the statue dedicated to the statesman Alexandru Lahovari, a monument situated in Bucharest downtown and that of Gheorghe Duca, one of Bucharest "Politechnica" University founders and general manager of the Romanian Railways, engineer, scientist and statesman. The statue is situated in the square of the North Railway Station.

Alexandru Lahovari's statue was cast in bronze by French sculptor Antonine Mercier and unveiled in the Lahovari Square on June, 17, 1901. The monument represents Lahovari as a speaker, standing, left hand stretched. At the base, there is the masculine allegory of the Danube, and to the left an allegory of Agricultural Romania—the female figure wearing a national costume, bringing homage to the honourable politician. On the pedestal, there were bronze plates with quotations from Lahovari's speeches, but they disappeared after 1948. The texts had nothing to do with the feminine figure, which is very visible when passing by the monument.

The monument dedicated to Gheorghe Duca, which was inaugurated in 1904, is a collective work. The base of the monument was designed by two architects, Ștefan Burcuș and Scarlat Petculescu (Frunzetti

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[49] Unfortunately this work was destroyed by the bombs in 1944, when a whole wing of the University had to be demolished. Parts of the pediment are preserved in the Storck Museum - Bucharest.

66), while Duca's portrait was created by Filip Marin[50] and the allegorical female statue by Dimitrie Paciurea. The first design shows the image of Athena offering a laurel branch to Duca. Later, Paciurea replaced the ancient goddess image by a more realistic one. The beautiful woman who is looking now at Duca and holds a little girl hand is supposed to be Science paying homage to the famous engineer. The body of the woman is put into value by the folds of her dress which is revealing, not hiding, its beauty. Half naked, the statue is a representation halfway between neoclassicism and modern realism. Probably due to the fact that Paciurea is a better artist then his peers, the feminine image is remarkable. The text does not explain the Science allegory or the presence of the little girl; it refers only to Duca's image.

As the descriptions of those two monuments prove, the feminine images accompanying the main monument are meant to help clarify the message induced by the male figure, yet their role is mainly decorative and helps the artist tell a story. They are not mentioned in the texts written at the base of the monument and they do not address the contemporary public. It should be considered that their position on the low register of the representation is a consequence of contemporary society concerning women. Their position is mirroring the role of women in society, around 1900, supposed to have a secondary role, supportive for the man, but in the shadow of their personality. None of the interviewed persons considers that those images are a symbolic representation of woman beauty.

The monuments erected in the memory of soldiers who had died in the First World War present women images as mothers taking care of severely wounded soldiers. One of the most well known and famous monuments is that dedicated to the sanitary corps of the army, turned into one of Bucharest landmarks and called "The Heroes." On top of this large monument, a feminine statue wearing the uniform of the Red Cross (considered to be the representation of Queen Mary) is supporting a soldier. It is hard to say whether women are considered to have a strong part in the war or their leading position in the monument is homage to the queen.

In the Cișmigiu Garden a famous Romanian sculptor, Ion Julia, made a monument dedicated to the French Heroes-it is sculpted in Carrara marble and it honours the French soldiers who died during the First World War on the Romanian territory. In these statuaries the feminine representations (generally symbols of the motherland) are no longer placed at the base of the monument, yet their commuinicative role is still secondary, they have to support the male figure and to help the understanding of their message. Once again, it mirrors the image of suportive women.

Conclusions

It is quite obvious that neoclassical representations are not communicating in a proper way with the contemporary public, as interrogated passers-by were not aware of their image and just a few tried to understand the texts. They are considered to be just decorations for old buildings or landmarks for foreigners. For some people they have preserved their role as landmarks of public memory, but they have lost the role of embodying the eternal beauty. The models now belong to the advertising industry.

The fact that they are either in front of churches, as in the case of Ana Davila and Princess Bălașa, or up on the walls of tall buildings, makes them less visible for the people of our post-modern society. Allegorical representations are no more "fashionable" in realistic societies. In this case, it should be added that there is no difference between feminine or masculine representations, but this gender perspective belongs to our epoch.

Another important conclusion refers to the role of the text. For neoclassical sculpture the texts are quite narrative, not just simple titles. Therefore they are important for decoding the message. The text has

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[50] Quite unknown today, Filip Marin was a very popular sculptor around 1900, his work consisting of a large number of portraits

preserved its role and moreover it helps the contemporary passer-by to understand the mentality of the time the sculpture was erected. Post-modern society lets people have their own interpretation, therefore the texts are considered to be useless.

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Tibet behind China

Abstract: Considered by many a hidden country, due to those very few parts of its civilization that tourists are allowed to visit and due to the distortion of its history since the Chinese invasion in 1949, Tibet has, however, managed to maintain its traditional way of life inside the state and in exile. The invaders chose to destroy the natives' values and impose a new culture, a different religion and civilization they defined as multiculturalism, a notion they tried to prove to the entire world through propaganda. Yet, as this paper will show, the Tibetan-Chinese relationship is characterized instead by a unicultural system trying to eliminate everything national. The first part of the paper will defend Dalai Lama's image, so as to answer the Chinese charges of corruption and self-interest. The second part will argue that the current political regime is totalitarian and nationalist instead of democratic and multiculturalist, through a discussion of different manifestations there as well as through a brief comparison with other states under similar or opposed situations.

Keywords: Tibetan, Dalai Lama, magnificent, dzongs, secret, suzerainty

Introduction: The Dalai Lama

Where is the multiculturalism that China was talking about on the international scene at the beginning of its occupation of Tibet? Unfortunately, there are still people who believe the Chinese version of the invasion, the one that says that Tibetans were oppressed by the feudal Lords of a greedy 'priesthood' led by a corrupt monk (the Dalai Lama) who followed only self-interest.

Contrary to these claims, the Dalai Lama regards himself as a simple Buddhist monk and his speeches always impress by simplicity, compassion, forgiveness and love to those around him. Moreover, there are certainly good reasons for which, during his life, he has received more than 50 awards for messages of peace, multi-religious understanding, universal responsibility, non-violence, et cetera.

For instance, in one of his speeches about universal responsibility, he sees it not only as a key to human survival, but also as a unique solution to the challenge posed by the current international situation, especially considering that each of us must learn to work not only for the good of one's own family or nation, but for the good of all humankind.

Being also known as a protector of the environment, in addition to the will of establishing a solid basis of universal peace, the Dalai Lama values the protection of natural resources, these being all actually designed to ensure a normal life to future generations.

With regard to the terrible situation in Tibet, he declares that if the Tibetans resorted to acts of violence and aggression against the Chinese, he would immediately withdraw from his position. Even though, Chinese authorities ignore not only the international opinion, tearing his character to shreds, but also the Tibetan one, prohibiting by law the presence of the Dalai Lama photographs in the Tibetan homes, or worse, arresting his supporters. Moreover, Tibetan reincarnated monks—lamas are 'dictated' by Beijing, not by Tibetans and Gedhun Choekyi Nyima,[51] who was recognized by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama's reincarnation, is reported missing along with his family since 1995, when he was six years old. As

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[51] *Gedhun Choekyi Nyima* was appointed and recognized by the Dalai Lama as *The 11th Panchen Lama* (also called *Panchen Erdeni*), the second important figure on the divine reincarnation line; subsequently, no international agency and/or human rights commission have been accredited to get in touch with the young *Panchen Lama* or with his family and nobody has heard anything about them lately (cf. Buzatu 160).

a result of the disappearance of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the Eleventh Panchen Lama has been indeed chosen by a Commission composed of monks, Buddhist scholars and officials of the capital Lhasa, but the identification was unable to be made without Chinese central authorities's confirmation.

Totalitarianism, Tibet and the Chinese Propaganda

Chinese Propaganda is doing its best to convince the world that the Chinese presence in Tibet has developed and raised this state from all points of view—economically, socially and educationally, a story which couldn't be farther from the truth. Tibetan-Chinese biculturallism actually represents a unicultural system under development, and unfortunately, even the remnants of the Tibetan culture have become less and less important in the view of the Chinese authorities.

Totalitarian regimes also happened in other regions across the world. Countries in the former communist bloc were in a situation similar to the present one in North Korea—a completely closed country. Therefore, any kind of relationship with foreigners was considered 'national treason,' any aspiration to knowledge was forbidden, each person's horizon was limited and individual values were reversed—starting with the extermination of intellectuals and ending with the promotion of non-values that were educated 'overnight' in a communist spirit. But it is pretty hard to believe that a country like Tibet—where tourism is thriving, where foreigners go to enjoy the presence of the magnificent temples and to enrich their spirit—is under totalitarian foreign rule and Tibetans are denied the right to their own laws, religion and values.

If in Canada or America, multiculturalism, through transculturalism, is most of the times accepted, integrated and developed naturally, being generally derived from the phenomenon of emigration, the USSR imposed, along with their political system, the obligation to study Russian and they limited the right to freedom of expression in all its forms, eliminating any trace of democracy by violation of all principles. The same phenomenon occurs in Tibet where the one that dictates and defines everything is China, as a Chinese General of Mao Tze Tung's (or Mao Zedong) army said at the end of the 1950s: "We don't care about what the Tibetans want because we'll always be able to bring there as many soldiers as necessary to make them do what we want them to do" (Hicks 30). Such a statement shows quite clearly the meaning of the presence of Chinese soldiers in Tibet (a situation that still persists and takes place under the eyes of the entire world). It was proved, however, that while some Chinese soldiers did only comply with the requirements of the generals in the army, being fully committed to military life, others even committed suicide because they were not prepared to participate in the atrocities and the tortures applied to Tibetans, and others went even on their side, as it happened with a Chinese artillery commander, Chang Ho-ther[52] who had fought alongside the Tibetans until the Dalai Lama[53] fled to India. As a parenthesis, it should be recalled that the current protests—organized or spontaneous—against China and its attitude towards the Tibetan plateau, do not take place only in Tibet, India and other Asian countries (and not only there), but even in China itself. Therefore, it is confirmed again that a people does not always agree with the choices of those who lead it.

It is known that the Tibetan spirit is serene, calm and pacifist. In spite of it, Tibetans have always been forced to face and fight the vicissitudes of history that may have changed the destiny of this nation.

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[52] *Chang Ho-ther* was given afterwards the Tibetan name of *Losang Tashi* and he lives now in Bylakuppe, India. (cf. Hicks 91)

[53] *The 14th Dalai Lama*, born in 1935, his true name *Dhondrub Lhamo*, has been given the name of *Jetsun Jamphel Ngawang Lobsang Yeshe Tenzin Gyatso*, that means *The Great Holy, Full of Pity and Compassion, Bearer of Glory, Defender of Truth, Ocean of Wisdom* or as many Tibetans call him, *Kundu*, and leads the Tibetan Government in exile, in India; *Gedun Drupa (Truppa)*, *The First Dalai Lama*, on his name—*Pema Dorjee* (1391-1474) was considered *The First (posthumously) Dalai Lama*, and he was the longest-running religious leader (cf. Bell 87).

The Tibetan plateau has been inhabited for more than 20,000 years, but the history before the 6th century is very little known, because the traditions and customs were transmitted orally. After having been led by the Mongols in the 13th century and by the Manchu Dinasty in the 18th century, after the Chinese Revolution in 1911-1912, it became an independent region, but under British influence. In 1950, the Chinese communists invaded and occupied the region, and in 1959, although there was a rebellion against the Chinese Government, the Dalai Lama was forced to flee and form a Government in exile in northern India, at Dharamsalla, followed by more than 80,000 Tibetans. After many years of oppression and failed negotiations, in 1965, a part of Tibet became officially an autonomous region of the Communist China.[54] The sovereignty of that area even today represents a topic of debate and controversy. Tibet is bordered by three ancient civilizations, the Chinese one to the North and the Indian and Nepalese ones to the South. Initially, the Tibetan plateau lived a long period of isolation due also to its geographical settlement, being considered the highest inhabited settlement in the world ('The Roof of the World'). Normally, the transculturalism could have found its way easily, and the multiculturalism could have developed harmoniously, taking into account the fact that both Tibet and China, then India and Nepal, are old nations with ancient histories, cultures and civilizations, not to mention the magnificent wealth of the traditional legacies. However, invaded by Communist China in 1949, Tibetans have been caused only national suffering through the loss of countless human lives, lack of liberty and human rights violation. Even today, China sees a paranoid threat in the culture and religion of Tibet, arguing that they have a great possibility to break its authority and therefore, they continue to destroy the remnants of the vestiges, customs and practices of the Tibetan religion, not to mention the traditional, religious, administrative and organizational centres, the famous dzong,[55] considered true symbols of districts, that have been almost entirely destroyed.

Although there are no accusatory documents, photos taken by delegations sent by the Dalai Lama or even those taken by common tourists do not show the preservation of monasteries and objects of worship, but their destruction: over 6,000 monasteries have been destroyed, Buda's statues have been thrown in the streets, the pictures of Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama have been burned and banned, the *mani*[56] stones have served as pavement of public toilets, et cetera. Photos do not show plants and companies producing jobs for Tibetans but old, small workshops and unsanitary working places where people that work in look more like shadows than human beings, or indeed, they show some factories which are open only during certain periods of time of the year, for the eyes of visitors or foreign delegations. Photos do not show any improvement regarding the Tibetan roads as it is specified in the materials of the Chinese propaganda, but some muddy, narrow and sunken streets. Photos do not show those famous institutions for the education of the young, but political prisons where thousands and thousands of Tibetan 'traitors' are still prisoners. Photos do not show nicely dressed Tibetans but people wearing old, patchy and shabby *chuba.*[57] The list goes on with those terrible facts which may be hard to imagine just by watching Chinese propaganda. On the contrary, if we examine the facts objectively and, actually, if we can see things just as they are, each of these facts presents the characteristics of genocide: lands devastated by nuclear weapons tests, public executions, forced sterilizations or children looking for food in garbage bins on the streets. It

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[54] Tibet Autonomous Region is located in the southern part of Tibet (in its northern part are located the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan and Qinghai).

[55] *Dzong*: *s*traditional centers constructed without architectural plans, after indications of a *lama* who dictates everything in accordance with his spiritual inspiration; the center is formed of several buildings used for administrative, military (before they were considered and used as fortresses), religious (monks' prayer and meditation chambers), social and cultural (people from the whole district used to come to the festivals organized in *dzongs*) purposes.

[56] *Mani*: sacred stones with inscriptions

[57] Chuba: Tibetan traditional clothes

is assumed that over 1,200 million Tibetans have been tortured, killed or died of diseases and starvation. Therefore, the official statistics of Chinese atrocities in Tibet may show only their *prima facie*, because the rest of them cannot be proven *de jure* but only *de facto*.

This year in April, the President of the Tibetan Parliament in exile, Penpa Tsering, together with the spiritual leader Dalai Lama, met in Ottawa, at the Conference of World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet (WPCT), with the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism, Jason Kenney. On this occasion, Penpa Tsering said that there are many lessons that China should learn from Canada about transculturalism and multiculturalism. One of the most important is that of social coexistence based on peace and confidence between the citizens of a country. At the same time, representatives of Tibet have tried to draw attention to China that it should follow the Canadian federalist model that let Quebec and Nunavut have a certain degree of autonomy and let Tibet under the leadership of Dalai Lama, as it was in 1950. The Dalai Lama has underlined that the situation is truly worrying and Tibet's cultural heritage of centuries is simply left to die.

Most often, the Tibetans in diaspora organize festivals and cultural events in order not to let their traditions disappear. Thus, they manage, to a certain extent, to pass on the cultural heritage and to make it also known in other countries. During the celebration days, organized abroad, they can show to the whole world that the Tibetan spirit is compassionate and that the principle of non-violence should be respected. At the same time, they try to let fall other messages through which they complain about the threat aginst their cultural heritage. Their music and their art, their magnificent ritual dances, the wisdom of the monks, the Buddhist meditation, mantras formulas, chakra healings, the deep knowledge of Tibetan medicine, the traditional sand mandala,[58] all these, but not only these, are outstanding parts of a culture and of a civilization that are unique in the world but, at the same time, they are all threaneted with extinction.

If we take into consideration the Tibetan language education, according to the statistics, in Tibet there is a rate of approximately 70% illiteracy among individuals over the last 15 years. This may demonstrate that the educational system is one with problems, and the implementation of the Mandarin language in the Tibetan schools after the Rebellion in 1959 proved to be a failure. Side effects are considered to be dramatic. The language institutionalizing policy is not viewed positively either inside or outside the country, especially because the teachers that work in the Tibetan schools cannot speak Tibetan, and those who can speak it have no right to teach in there. A Congress that took place in 1987 proposed a project that set its sights on the use and respect of Tibetan language and culture. Therefore, they debated some rules and even some special laws that could force legislation to let Tibetan language be used in schools and in school textbooks. However, this project was abandoned in 1989 as a result of the 'separatist crisis' and now almost all school subjects are taught in Chinese. At the same time, government documents and information of any kind as booklets, books, technical and instruction books are written in Chinese. Chinese massive use had and still has devastating effects on the study of the Tibetan language, since the latter cannot be used and/or kept alive. That is an important aspect that leads, in fact, to the loss of the Tibetan linguistic heritage. And all these aspects exist only because Tibetans have become a minority in their own country. Moreover, the number of Chinese people in Tibet increases from one day to another because they are encouraged by Beijing to emigrate to Tibet, and those who do that can get better jobs, can have their own home and other benefits, not to mention the educatioanal disparities between Chinese and Tibetan children: everything is taught in Chinese, there are separate kitchens in schools for Chinese and

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[58] Sand Mandala, in the Tibetan language, Kilkhor, is a Tibetan tradition to destroy a mandala made of colored sand; mandala is ritually destroyed as soon as its process of creation, accompanied by a certain ceremony is completed; mandala represents the faith of Buddhist doctrine according to which humans are only passengers in this material life (Hicks 121).

Tibetan children where, of course, food is different. At the same time, it is believed that the marriage system between Tibetans and Chinese is favoured in order to make Tibetans lose their identity.

Tibetan religion has also become totally awkward and it cannot be taught in schools and universities anymore, monks are considered 'seditious' and outcasts of society, monasteries harm the economic development and therefore they must be managed 'properly.' Failure to comply with religious restrictions leads to incarceration, even among minors, and any action of protest is considered a 'separatist activity.' A very odd situation was the one in which the Tibetans were forced to kill animals as a result of the campaign "Eliminate extra mouths." Thus, some kind of exchange was established, and that exchange looked rather mocking, directly addressed to the Tibetan people: a certain number of insects were equivalent to a mouse, a certain number of mice were equivalent to a cat and so forth. For the spirit of the Tibetan Buddhists, who consider all forms of life, who respect everything and everyone because they believe that any creature is sacred, that choice has meant a true disaster.

Another traumatic fact was the elimination of a very important Tibetan custom with religious connotations, of naming their children with a name chosen by a *lama*. For Tibetans, the child is offered (or used to be oferred) a certain name by a *lama* who meditates long on his choice. So, the names of the children were closely tied to their destiny, their lifetime journeys made in this world and also tied to their previous and subsequent lives. As a result, children are now named after days of the week, certain flowers or other elements of nature, a method sprung from Tibetans' love and respect towards nature. Consequently, Tibetans were forced to abandon a religious practice that had existed for centuries and to find a solution by themselves. To some extent, they found that solution honourable and felt relieved since, finally, the children's names may be considered somehow sacred. Antithetically, I would offer here the example of the former President of Turkmenistan, Saparmurat Nyazov[59] for whom the months of the year had absolutely no significance and therefore he thought it would be much better and more appropriate if he named them after his relatives' names.

Conclusions: Tibet, Territorial Disputes and the World Around

Territorial disputes and issues of political borders have always been a delicate subject that has had a very important contribution to the writing of history and the birth of peoples' culture and civilization. Along with Western Sahara whose territory is disputed by Morocco and the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Kosovo that declared its independence from Serbia and finally had it recognized by nearly 80 of the UN member states, Abkhazia and South Osedia that compete for Georgia, the dispute between Arabs and Jews on the Palestinian territory[60] and many others, Tibet is also a part of a conflict that dates back to the 13th century. Actually, three big powers have fought for Tibet's land domination, not only China, but also Russia and the United Kingdom. In accordance with the International Law (1890-1893), it remained a vassal state of China. People's Republic of China has seen Tibet as its indivisible part since the time of the Yuan Dynasty[61] and unfortunately, it seems that also the old maps show that, but the documents do not

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[59] *Saparmurat Ataievici Niyazov*, President of Turkmenistan (1985-2006) and the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan, authoritarian dictator that used to impose to his people and to dictate laws depending on his personal needs and outlandish ideas; He is famous for the advice that he gave to the farmers in his country: "To have a long and healthy life, you must eat bones!"

[60] The dispute between Israelis and Palestinians on the Palestinian territory is considered to be the longest one, having thousands of years of history, but it appeared on the international scene just after the Second World War.

[61] The Yuan Dynasty was actually a Mongol dynasty in China who reigned between 1279 and 1368. The most famous Chinese dynasty was the Han Dinasty, the second imperial dynasty of China that led the country more than 2,200 years ago, between 206 BC and 220; the Han Dynasty époque was considered a "golden age," and it often rivaled with the prestige and power of the Roman Empire; many Chinese ethnics call themselves even today "han."

really support it. On the international scene, the United States of America and the European Union sustain this and it seems that they do not want to interfere in this conflict. Therefore it happens very often that most of the activities carried out by Dalai Lama and the Tibetans in exile and also their visits overseas are not officially recognized and/or mediated. Also the total lack of reactions and intervention of the international great powers on the Chinese invasion in Tibet seems to be unaccountable.

At the end of the Second World War, Eastern European countries experienced a period of political upheavals, being practically forced to move, in a relatively short period of time, to forms of authoritarian leadership imposed by the Soviet armies through a political regime completely different from the Western democratic values. The political system imported from the Soviet Union imposed a Soviet-Communist government which brought with it the Soviet values that would obviously mark those countries societies politically, socially, culturally, and educationally. Thus, one can say that Eastern Europe—like the state of Tibet—turned from a free zone into an occupied and invaded one, isolated from the rest of Europe, with principles, ways of thinking and values different to those in Western Europe. The Soviet influence had major conesequences in Eastern European countries societies, consequences that still have influences upon the mentalities, way of thinking, attitudes and reactions of many individuals from the ex-Communist space. Fortunately, 1989 is marked as one of the most important years regarding the historical events of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe that, after a long period of dictatorship and totalitarianism, were able to regain the right to democracy. Prior battles for independence ended always tragically and they were severely suppressed.

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False Identities of Self-Proposed Heroes

Abstract: Many times memory assumes fictitious developments. In this way, reality becomes imagination or, better said, hypothesis. As we never get to know reality in all its aspects, we are forced to make suppositions. In Peter Ackroyd's novel *The Fall of Troy*, history is recreated in order to support the myth. Because the myth has energy and charisma, it incentivises the soul of a nation. In Julian Barnes's *The History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters* and *Flaubert's Parrot* imagination is used to reconsider mentalities, religions and characters. In both novels, imagination works as a deconstructionist factor. By creating a simulacrum of reality, we can better understand the nature of our beliefs and attitudes. The conclusion would be that the only useful reality resides in the realm of imagination.

Keywords: memory, history, deconstruction, Julian Barnes, Peter Ackroyd

Introduction: The Great Expectations of Memory

It was Jean Baudrillard who endorsed the rumor of Walt Disney's body waiting to be decriogenised in a more technically developed world. As we know, Disney's health decayed severely soon before his death, the doctors having even to remove one of his lungs. Baudrillard needed this invented memory as he wanted to demonstrate that even death had been absorbed into the range of simulacra. The fake news was supported by the fact that Disney's tomb is not known to the large public. Such a stratagem is not uncommon when it comes to the graves of those celebrities who don't want their resting place to be vandalised. Of course, we would like the idea of having Disney back and saving our kids from the catastrophic cartoons of the third millennium.

Memory could offer great expectations when infused with imagination. Such an "ideology of the return" (Foucault 138) engenders illusions or disillusions. On the one hand, who studies history is protected from historicism (cf. Foucault 138), as history is seldom a nuptial feast, on the other hand, who superficially or fallaciously selects deeds from the past, or distorts them, is tempted to herald the miracle.

In other words, it is very important the way in which we decode historical messages. Signs can acquire unexpected ideological meanings, getting in this way articulated with biased openings. As Stuart Hall remarks, it is at the level of association that connotation intervenes and favors "situational ideologies" (Hall 512). As we know very well, ideologies emerge from polysemy, but they cannot stand pluralism. They institutionalise "the dominant or preferred meanings" (Hall 513) with the purpose of imposing a hierarchical vision. The human species has the obsession of structure. Now, an obsession nurtures compulsory drives: it matters to win, irrespective of the fact that it is not an honest victory. Encoding and decoding meanings are incongruent activities (Hall 515). Then where does the pleasure of fake victories come from?

The Uncontrollable Impulse to Win

This is the question to which Peter Ackroyd tries to answer in the novel *The Fall of Troy*. The autodidact Heinrich Obermann (impersonating the renowned Heinrich Schliemann), dedicates the second part of his life—the first one having been invested in making a fortune for himself—to identifying and revealing the site of the legendary Troy. He already boasts the discovery of Odysseus and Penelope's palace on the island of Ithaca. His enthusiasm derives from the tales told by his father when Heinrich was a child. Tales about trolls, fairies, ghosts, demons, and hidden treasures. His father also extensively lectured him in Homer's

works, read in original. If the realm of fairies and that of the trolls are not necessarily pure fantasy, the mind of the young Lutheran kept fantasizing all his life. He indulges, too, in a process of de-Christianisation which coincides with the worshipping of shrewdness and victory obtained at no matter what price. We know that for the Old Greeks fame was everything. Achilles finally preferred to die in the battle than to reach the age of wisdom. Even Nestor's fame of a wise old man originated in his ability to compromise antagonistic forces and not in his desire to contribute to a happier world for everybody. The pagan wisdom was and is specific to old age, because only at this stage in life can be arranged "the complicity between regimes of memory and dominant power relations" (Hodgkin and Radstone 18). Obermann is in his 50s and fully aware of how to practise the "politics of memory discourses" (Hodgkin and Radstone 2).

Preserving childhood memories and fantasies does not annihilate the matter-of-fact thinking. Exalted and fond of culture as Obermann may seem, he is ready to resort to unorthodox archaeological methods in order to create chaos. The samples should not be accurately dated so that nobody could hold him accountable for the discoveries he has made. In this way, the jewelleries and precious objects are stolen away with the help of an ingenious network. Heinrich motivates his stratagem in front of his much younger Greek wife by saying that what he robs from Turkey he gives to Greece. Of course, personal interest prevails. In this way, the imaginary is bound to support mercantilism. For instance, because on the site could be found no swords or shields—strange enough for an ancient would-be battlefield—Obermann shamelessly produces some swords out of the blue. Additionally, he advertises his magic gift of discovering famous lost historical places in the press world-wide. His belief that people live "in an iron age" and that "they needed history" (Ackroyd 12) proves to be very profitable in terms of present day currency. His gift of "sniffing" potentially significant archaeological locations is indisputable. But he is not a vulgar tomb-pilferer because he deludes himself together with the rest of the world. He really believes that he gets closer and closer to the mysterium tremendum of Troy and repudiates cultural selfishness: "Troy is not for Turkey. Troy is for the world" (Ackroyd 35). By postulating the primate of imagination over science: "That is archaeology. Instinct! [...] It is not a science [...] It is an art [...] My imagination is correct" (Ackroyd 41), he is able to attribute to himself supernatural powers. A genius deserves more than the common lot. Because only he can make visible the invisible, he infers that he has the right to repeat the game the other way round.

Faking Identity—Structure Begotten by Chaos

Later in the novel we learn that Obermann's past is full of onerous businesses. Capitalism gets on well with enthusiasm and culture is his suitcase. When Consul Cyrus Redding assesses him as a genius but not as a great man (Ackroyd 66), the problem is reset in ethical coordinates. As Jeremy Gibson and Julian Wolfreys put it: "playing with identity is the most serious game in the world for Ackroyd" (18). In the process of constructing a new identity, even if a fake one, memory is ascribed a leading role. The best way to discourage inquiries into the past is to mythologize that past. We are used to the cliché that post-modernism demythologizes the past. But the reverse way functions smoothly as long as it relies on a biased mythology. The myth can have the paradoxical effect of freezing the past. Memory and oblivion are inextricably intertwined. We forget things in order to memorize other things. Actually, our minds shift sets of memories and our past becomes a battlefield of reminiscences (Hodgkin and Radstone 241).

Paradoxically, although Obermann is a fake, the fact that he sacralises his own past in connection with the grandeur of the Homeric legends sanctifies almost everything around him. It seems that if behind a simulacrum there is a saintly kern, the imitation assumes the holiness of the lost original. When Turkish peasants discover an ancient skeleton, they do not agree to its museumification. In order to accelerate the burial proceedings, Obermann is forced to baptize the foundling. The same happens when the sceptical professor William Brand, from Harvard, unexpectedly dies after visiting a cursed cave, the cave of Selene —Obermann performs the rites of exorcism in a blasphemous way, reciting Latin verses from Vergil while

making signs with a cross. His excuse is a cultural one: "was he not called the divine Virgil by the early Church fathers?" (Hodgkin and Radstone 95). More than this, in order to get rid of any evidence, he burns the corpse with the help of a Homeric pyre.

Ackroyd does not condemn his hero. The message is another one: the manipulator cannot escape unaffected by his manipulative stratagems. Who wants to pre-arrange the victory is seized by a continuous fear. And he who is fearful misses the spectacle of the game, which is the real beauty of life. Obermann is too intelligent to confine his life to a series of dull victories. This is the second conclusion of the novel: mischievous deeds in the realm of beauty and glory get contaminated by that beauty and glory. Obermann is halloed by grandeur in spite of his materialistic drives: "I am here to recreate Troy, not to reduce it to a pile of dust and bones" (Ackroyd 84). Imagination abuses science, but the result is amazing. Without supposition and genius hidden treasures would never come to light. Accuracy and objectivity should come after imagination released the revelation. The lack of necessary correspondence between encoding and decoding (Hall 515) could make logical decodings sterile enterprises. From such a stance, the imaginary offers the chance of a preview which should not be despised as it is fuelled by strenuous former documentation. The imaginary is really useful when science exhausted its means. In many cases, what once belonged to the imaginary has been scientifically certified in the meantime. The history of science is full of examples of realisable imagination. When the road from premises to conclusion was not a smooth one, scientists preferred perverted syllogisms more often than not. It is exactly what Obermann tries to do, with the excuse that his schemes improve the spiritual condition of humanity. The recovered Troy is a symbol of courage and love conjoined with treachery and recklessness. The exemplary city lays bare good and bad examples together. It is a parable of humanity. The purpose of such a discovery is education, not profitability.

From such a perspective, there is a benign imaginary and a toxic one. "We must fight for the criminal imperfection of the world. Against this artificial paradise of technicity and virtuality, against the attempt to build a world of completely positive, rational and true, we must save the traces of the illusory world's definitive opacity and mystery" (Baudrillard 74). Actually, the real opposition is not between science and imaginary, but between science and technical applications that encourage anti-metaphysical approaches and short-sighted utilitarianism. Obermann is not guilty of inventing historical artefacts, but of disfiguring the beauty of Troy through stealing. Misery and grandeur rotate in a vicious circle: on the one hand, he makes visible what belongs to the invisible, on the other hand he makes disappear the jewelleries that came out from imaginary into reality.

The small, and, anyway, varying distance between reality and imaginary is reflected in Julian Barnes's novel *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters* and *Flaubert's Parrot*. If "fable and fabulation are cathartic as they attenuate the horror, brutality and arbitrariness of the history of the world" (Guignery 67), then part of his novels' substance correspond to such a compensatory function of the imaginary. But the imaginary, as I already mentioned, contributes to reconsidering the doctrinal truth through conjecture or hypothesis. As a matter of fact, the doctrinal truth is not something repulsive. It is only an ideologised truth whose interpretation stalled in order to be convenient to a certain epoch. The stalled interpretation becomes anachronistic in time, consequently not totally understood, so it will be approached with awestricken respect. Even the ironies poked at the indisputable truths are manifestations of hesitance and incomeprehensibility. What we do not understand anymore gets reintegrated into the realm of imaginary.

But there is the reverse way: the cynical and demythisizing approach realised with postmodernist techniques. The literary historian comes with the minimalist perspective and this suggests familiarity with immemorial times. If the discourse respects the principles of verisimilitude, literature wins over history. It is quite plausible that the Deluge was sailed over by a flotilla, not by a single Ark, as Barnes "enlightens" us in the chapter-story "The Stowaway" from *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters*. The reconsideration, then, becomes violent towards the consecrated tradition. Noah is "a hysterical rogue with a drink problem"

(Barnes 8). The dismantling of the Holy Scripture is justified by the fate of animals accompanying humans on the flotilla. The narrator being a tiny wood-worm camouflaged into the horn of a ram—but the narrative source is disclosed only at the end of the chapter—, the perspective belongs not to the maximized winner, but to the minimized refugee. The wood-worms are not allowed on the Ark as they are considered not irrelevant to the chart of species, but extremely dangerous to the safety of the ships. Gnawing at wood is the same with gnawing at mentalities and prejudices. Why should humans feed on the other animals: "we were just floating cafeteria" (Barnes 14)? Why should humans apply oversimplified structures to reality by destroying the cross-breeds: the behemoth, the fire-living salamander, the basilisk, the griffon, the sphinx, and the unicorn? Those primitive desires of domination and simplification would be, thus, specific to a "very unevolved species compared to the animals" (Barnes 28). Barnes here implicitly accuses the protagonists of human history of lack of imagination. And where we have a deficit of imagination, the respect for others' rights will suffer or regress to the level of toleration. We may have either a "permission concept of toleration" or a "respect conception" (Forst 305). The latter implies "equal rights for identities" (Forst 307), irrespective of the differences between them. The accent in the genuine multiculturalism is put on identities, not on minorities or majorities. What matters is the quality, not the quantity. Toleration, with its three components: objection, acceptance and rejection (Forst 292) it is acceptable and not insulting when the parties involved tolerate each other. Toleration being "a normatively dependent concept," which needs "other, independent normative resources in order to gain a certain content and substance" (Forst 293) can swiftly evolve to perverse implementations if it is based on the permission conception. The one-sided toleration is reflected in Barnes's novel with the help of an aberrant juridical context. When it is advantageous, the maximal becomes democratic, overestimating the minimal. A strategy of this sort is effective when somebody wants to transfer responsibilities to an innocent, uninitiated category. The process of overestimation is mirrored in the third chapter of the novel: "The Wars of Religion." The wood-worm is accused of having devoured on purpose the leg of the throne in the church of Saint Michel. The incident provoked the fall of a bishop who hit his head on the pavement. The fall is mythologized: he fell "like the mighty Daedalus, from the heavens of light into the darkness of imbecility" (Barnes 64). Besides the ironical rhetoric, the inaccuracy of taking Daedalus for his son, Icarus, induces mistrust towards the sophisticated scholasticism of the religious court of law. The bestioles (Barnes 75) should be anathemized and excommunicated. From now on, the theological conflict enters the domain of multiculturalism. Can the wood-worm be placed under the dominion of man's jurisdiction if it was not upon Noah's Ark? Can the vermin be acquitted if it did not turn up at the tribunal after repeated summoning? This is the utopian, or the hypocritical side of multiculturalism—imagining that the borders between different cultures will not be trespassed. Trespassing involves violence exerted by one of the parties. Reciprocal opening of some intervals of borderlines creates the opportunity to transcultural communication, whose success we shall never be able to anticipate. The permission conception is the pre-condition of advancing multiculturalism towards transculturalism. This is realisable in a context of complete amnesia or of comprehensive mutual understanding. As much memory or as much amnesia as possible! I have to admit to approximation as "historiography and memory are not the same" (Schwarz 141).

Maybe Obermann stretches his imagination in order to obtain imaginings. He forces out historical evidence, and this is not what we could name historical truth. Imagination is useful to his business, but also to the local people's businesses. Somebody could argue that truth in such conditions is irrelevant, not to say useless. We could agree with this line of interpretation if producing such fake truths didn't disturb others' life and beliefs. Obermann tricks Sophia's—his young Greek wife—high expectations. She had sincerely believed in her future husband's enthusiasm and genius. Then, there is a tacit fight between the greedy improvised archaeologist and the Turkish peasants working for him: the fight for gold and precious stones found on the site. Lastly, the whole world is fooled about the veracity of the tremendous discovery.

The figment of Obermann's imagination is sheer mercantilism. He is able to mimic rituals and the antique heroes' behavior. His enlightened conceptions hide subterranean mean purposes. Hence, the title of the novel: *The Fall of Troy*. When the inventor of the falsified Troy is crushed by the hoofs of a scared horse, the whole invention breaks into pieces. Troy's legendary name is dragged through the mire. Obermann's magnificent imaginary, which is the result of his imagination, is compromised because he "detotalises the message in the preferred code in order to retotalise the message within some alternative framework of reference." In cold, scientific formulation, this is a "struggle in discourse" (Hall 517).

Conclusions

But imagination can be dangerous in more subtle ways. In *Flaubert*'s *Parrot*, Julian Barnes "stages" the irony played at the expense of Flaubert's principle that between writers and their work there should be no transfer of personal information. Writers should not imbue their works with autobiographical substance and the literary productions will live an independent life from their authors'. The irony is that in France there are plenty of Flaubert's statues. Right at the beginning of the novel, Barnes provides three biographies of the French writer: an official one and two intimate other. The first one of the second type records successes and happy events, the second failures and sorrows. Exactly what Flaubert feared: that his life could influence the reception of his books, degrading in this way their intrinsic aesthetic quality. In the novel we have a character who burns Flaubert's personal correspondence in order to respect his cultural will. But this only enhances the danger: we have insufficient information regarding Flaubert's existence, but we do have something, though. Out of this incompleteness emerges the insatiable imagination. So, imaginary is the result of a force that can never be as sober as a judge. Homer's and Shakespeare's lives cannot be exploited in terms of plastic-surgery-imagination. The imaginary shaped around their physical presence is sheer fiction. This is the pure condition of the imaginary. Semi-fictitious or semi-historical imaginings are double-edged: they can comercially and shamelessly speculate about the scarce evidence left, or they can advance visionary hypotheses, contributing to authentic revelations. Cast in such an equation, imagination is the communication channel between memory and future. As Luisa Passerini put it: "Memory is the past tense of desire, anticipation its future tense, and both are obstacles to the present-oriented attitude which is the only one which allows the unknown to emerge in any session" (Hodgkin and Radstone 251).

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Towards a Cosmopolitan Community: Richard Wright's *Black Power*

Abstract: This paper proposes an investigation into the identity of ethnic minorities on the background of the majority. More specifically, the paper aims at analysing a search for, and (self-) representation of, African-American identity against the African and American backgrounds, as illustrated by Richard Wright's travelogue *Black Power* (1954). In offering a close reading of Wright's African travelogue and highlighting its rhetoric of distance, the paper finds that it is by means of travel that Wright eventually attains a sense of belonging to a community, though not a geographic or ethnic one. This sense of belonging is enabled by Wright's identification with what he describes as the "tragic elite" of the Third World, a (dis)community of ideological exiles made available to him through travel and which becomes the mirror image of his own identity as formed and expressed in *Black Power* and subsequent works.

Keywords: Richard Wright, Black Power, African-American, Africa, travel, tragic elite.

1. Introduction

In-between the extreme approaches to life and writing in *Native Son* (1940) and *White Man, Listen!* (1957), Richard Wright's career registers in the 1950s what has been considered a detour, but could be an existential turning point. *Black Power: A Record of Reactions in a Land of Pathos* (1954), *The Color Curtain* (1956), and *Pagan Spain* (1957) progressively illustrate the emergence of a solution to the writer's physical and mental uprootedness. As this paper will show, the triggering moment may have been represented by Wright's journey to Africa. In 1953, Richard Wright travelled to the Gold Coast of Africa and observed for six months the life and customs of the country nearing independence from colonial rule; the resulting travelogue, *Black Power* (1954), marks a new cosmopolitan phase in Wright's career, whose final decade was dedicated to travel (and) writing about Africa, Asia, and Europe.

Intent on comprehending the starting point of African-American genesis, the Middle Passage, *Black Power* begins with a digressive historical report on the slave trade. The initiating narrative lingers on Wright's ironic reflections regarding Liverpool as the slaves' point of destination and his own point of departure. Because Liverpool was a focal point in the slave trade, Wright's journey constitutes an occasion of questioning the respectability of the slave-based Western society, of remembering how the African-American was deemed a commodity, and of reconsidering the ontic nature of the black person. As a result, the entire narrative and the journey are structured by the ramifications of the slave trade; hence primordial Africa bears no interest to Wright, for whom African history seems to begin with the Middle Passage. As the ship sales forth, Wright compares his journey to that of former slaves, presenting it as a conscious reversal of the moment of severance, only that this time there are "no handcuffs, chains, fetter, whips" (*Black Power* 19).

In *Richard Wright and Racial Discourse*, Yoshinobu Hakutani claims, quite surprisingly, that Wright's portrayal of Africa is a balanced one, in which the writer seeks the commonalities of African and Western culture (Hakutani 169). Wright may be seeking for commonalities, but it is differences that he finds. His discourse on the African continent is not naive, innocent or phrased as a matter of personal opinion; quite the contrary, it is well documented and informed by the discourse of literature. When Wright takes the train to Liverpool and looks out at the British landscape, he sees it, as N. Chiwengo observed, through the

literature of D. H. Lawrence, Arnold Bennnett, George Moore, identifying tableaux rather than real pictures. The African landscape, too, seems to be constructed through a reading of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Wright's recurrent description of the African sunset as a "majestic display of color that possessed an unearthly and imperious nobility" (*Black Power* 26) paints an abstract, bookish picture of the unknown and, in the same register of the dangerous unknown, the ship itself slices "its way through a sea… that stretched limitless… toward the murk horizon" (*Black Power* 27), while the ocean poses a "quiet but persistent threat of terror lurking just beneath the surface" (*Black Power* 26) so one would not have been surprised "if a vast tidal wave had thrust the ship skyward in a sudden titanic upheaval of destruction" (*Black Power* 26). The writer himself compares his hotel to such establishments as described in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902). Thus, from the beginning, Wright moulds African signs into familiar literary constructs to grant them meaning; that, however, does not save him from often declaring the incomprehensibility of both the African people, and their way of life.

That may be because, when he cannot fall back on documented, written knowledge, Wright feels the limitation of his understanding and projects such failure on the object of enquiry. When, in fact, he gazes upon Africa like in a mirror where he reads his own, Western-fashioned image. Though Wright is explicitly aware that the image of Africa is a projection of Western repressed desire, his gaze places Africa and Europe from the very beginning in the dichotomy of nature versus culture and his perception and subsequent critique of Africa is phrased, as scholars have observed, within Western ethnographic categories (Chiwengo 24). By gazing at the 'primitives' from a Western distance, Wright becomes "the subject position… setting the frame for the meaning of the encounter with the other" (Pile and Thrift 41). Thus he fails his declared intention to reveal the African's view of the west, as he gazes on the African other, through Western eves and remains throughout the travelogue a stranger in Africa.

Misencounters

In Wright's narrative, much is carefully said and tailored to serve a Westcentric perspective on Africa. Nevertheless, what is not said bears just as much importance, for Wright's African travelogue affords as many significant instances of repression and silencing. The exotic landscape of his travel is far from inviting; rather, it appears as impenetrable since it refuses to open up to the Western visitor. The air is "wet, sticky, yeasty" and clouds are "sagging" (*Black Power* 261). Subject to an Westcentric ideological structure, Wright is not willing to project a self distinct from technology, progress, individualism, democracy, and literacy, all of which seen foreign to the Gold Coast. His refusal of allegiance to a black paradigm, which could serve as a point of identification, is illustrated by an anticipatory encounter with an updated Uncle Tom archetype, Justice Thomas of the Nigerian Supreme Court. The very civilized Justice Thomas assures Wright that his connection to Europe has set him apart from "those cannibal natives running naked in the bush" (*Black Power* 21) and, as a result, is harshly diagnosed by Wright as suffering from the "Frantz Fanonian alienation (dis)ease" (*Black Power* 21) because of the judge's desire to identify with British standards. The scene is ironic and show little self-awareness since, while he rejects any identification with the judge, Wright himself could be easily considered a Justice Thomas in his attitude to Africa.

Soon after his arrival in the Gold Coast, Wright drives into James Town with Kwame Nkrumah, the country's Prime Minister. There he witnesses from the car a group of women dancing to Nkrumah's welcome in a manner that appears familiar to him: "I was astonished to see women, stripped to the waist, their elongated breasts flopping wildly, do a sort of weaving, circular motion with their bodies, a kind of queer shuffling dance which expressed their joy in a quiet, physical manner" (*Black Power* 56). It does not take Wright long to identify his déjà-vu: "And then I remembered: I'd seen these same snakelike, veering dances before. Where? Oh, God, yes; in America, In store-front churches, in Holy Roller Tabernacles, in God's Temples, … And here I was seeing it all again against a background of a surging nationalist political movement!" (*Black Power* 56). In spite of the possibility of anamnesis offered by the scene, Wright does

not seem to understand its meaning, and his subsequent reactions build on the misunderstanding or, better said, repression of the two realizations potentially made available in this early episode: the presence of the sacred in every day African life and its survival through ritual on American grounds. This sudden, repressed echo is a cause of bewilderment, as Wright confesses: "when I'd come to Africa, I didn't know what I'd find, what I'd see; the only prepossession I'd had was that I'd doubted that I'd be able to walk into the African's cultural house and feel at home and know my way around" (*Black Power* 57). This prepossession confirms itself throughout the narrative and makes it impossible for Wright to read the meaning of the African/American dance and, by extension, of his ties to Africa; moreover, it extends Wright's self-questioning to an even more troubling lack of identification with his original, African-American community: "This African dance today was as astonishing and dumbfounding to me as it had been when I'd seen it in America" (*Black Power* 57). In his *a priori* dismissal of a racial and/or religious interpretation, Wright refuses from the start two possible paths that could lead to an understanding of Africa as origin.

This and other such episodes show that the sign of Africa may be for Wright the potent territory scholars have claimed (Shankar 128), yet it proves to be a barren land because the travel writer refuses the interpretative instruments of race and religion that could contribute to his understanding of Africa. Wright poses early in *Black Power* the question of the meaning of his African ancestry, but he fails to confront it and plays down the issue when, in thinking about the dancers scene the next day, he regains his rationalistic poise: "That there was some kind of link between the native African and the American Negro was undoubtedly true. But what did it mean? A certain group of American anthropologists had long clamored for a recognition of what they had quaintly chosen to call 'African' survivals" (*Black Power* 66). This is a frequent strategy in what could be called Wright's rhetoric of distance: falling back upon established knowledge discharges him of the obligation of personal interpretation and involvement. In assuming the detached position of the ethnographer, Wright's initial disquiet is repressed into pseudoscientific observation.

Even if Wright is astounded by the similarities between Africans and African-Americans, he dismisses them because they cannot be rationally accounted for. However impressed Wright is that African-Americans have preserved the same "basic and fundamental patterns of behavior and response" as the Africans, he, nevertheless, distances himself from such racially-defined traits, by first eluding an explanation and then wondering if he himself possesses the respective features. In ethnographically citing the African survivals in African-American dancing and singing, Wright rejects racial essentialism on the exceptional argument that he himself cannot dance or sing. Despite the numerous proofs of the persistence of African practices in African-American lives, he maintains that he does not have the ability to understand African customs, in spite of his blackness. This shall remain "truly a big problem" without a solution throughout the text because the questions posed by his African observations come against Wright's own frame of mind: "The bafflement evoked in me by this new reality did not spring from any desire to disclaim kinship with Africa, or from any shame of being of African descent. My problem was how to account for this 'survival' of Africa in America when I stoutly denied the mystic influence of 'race'" (*Black Power* 67). That is, indeed, a difficult task. Wright's African experiences contradict the essence of his race-free individuality, as Africa poses a challenge to Wright's very construction of an individualistic self. He cannot but admit that African practices may survive in America, but generically attributes them to folklore and human nature. Thus, Wright's honest failure to understand the (possibility of an) African heritage stems from his desire to be construed as a raceless that is, free, subject.

Another repressed moment of recognition takes place when, in the Old Slave Market Castle in Christianborg, Wright meets a certain Mr. Hagerson, a descendent of slaves, and, while he sees in his face the reflection of his own grandfather, he immediately dismisses that impression (*Black Power* 181). The blood or racial connection to Africa is something that Wright refuses to appeal to in exploring, or rather

repressing, his link to Africa. This is an explicit attitude in the travelogue: when told that, if he were to stay longer, he would feel his race and a knowledge of it would come back to him, Wright replies "I doubt that" and programmatically adds: "I know that I'd never feel an identification with Africans on a 'racial' basis" (*Black Power* 218-9).

Whereas a feeling of communion based on race is never in Wright's views, what he interestingly replaces it with is an insight regarding culture. Wright tentatively reformulates the connection between African-Americans and Africans in terms of culture: "The question of how much African culture an African retains when transplanted to a new environment is not a racial, but a cultural problem, cutting across such tricks as measuring of skulls and intelligence tests" (*Black Power* 266). In short, posits Wright, the African remains black and becomes American, English, or French; "but, to the degree that he fails to adjust, to absorb the new environment (and this will be mainly from racial and economic reasons!), he, to that degree, and of necessity, will retain much of his primal outlook upon life, his basically poetic apprehension of existence" (*Black Power* 266). By rephrasing what is incomprehensible to him in African life into a conclusion on the poetic African nature, Wright, although very much inspired in changing focus from racial to cultural definitions, merely rephrases the essential otherness of Africa and of its necessary survivals and posits the pre-eminence of one's national, assumed identity. This is not a surprising resolution for the rationalist Wright; his Marxist prepossessions lead him to look for a historical solution. And, in successfully countering the seductions of the rhetoric of race through his own rhetoric of distance, Wright remains a stranger in Africa.

Another scene of dancing, also in James Town, serves to confirm to Wright this acute sense of being a stranger, to African life Wright discovers a compound in which men and women are dancing in the dark to the beat of drums and asks a young man about what is going on. When the young man observes "You're a stranger, aren't you?", Wright replies "Yes; I'm an American" (*Black Power* 127). Inside the compound, Wright observes the dancers "moving slowly, undulating their abdomens, their eyes holding a faraway look" (*Black Power* 127). Upon his interrogation, he is told that a girl had just died. "I still didn't know why they were dancing and I wanted to ask him a third time" (*Black Power* 127), Wright notes, unable as always to read through the lack of either sadness or joy in the dancers' faces at funerals. "I had understood nothing," reads Wright's last comment on the episode. "I was black and they were black, but my blackness did not help me" (Wright *Black Power* 127). Blackness is to Wright a blank, useless sign. The epistemological problem that the African other poses to him results in an assertion of African incomeprehensibility.

Monologic Travel

Although the title of Wright's travelogue denotes the empowerment of blacks, it is not Africans that are empowered in the narrative, as they are bereft of voice. Because they are considered to lack intellect, they are literally portrayed as speechless. Their utterances are insignificant and, when not completely dismissed, they appear to need Wright as an interpreter. The writer is not at all interested in African voices but in static pictures which lend themselves to his interpretation. He frequently registers images, but rarely listens to the voices explaining them, choosing, in yet another strategy of distancing, to be the interpreter of a muted film. In fact, he complains that Ghanaians are reluctant to explain their customs and beliefs unless financially motivated but, when given the opportunity to have his questions answered, he falls back on the books, having failed even to listen to, not to mention understand, his interlocutors. For instance, when an educated African enquires if Wright has understood his explanations upon the writer's questions regarding funeral rites, no reply is registered. Rather than rely on his own observations and interpretations, Wright turns to Western ethnographic literature to clarify and, in a way, authenticate what he witnesses. After briefly interviewing a servant about African beliefs in the ancestors, Wright is certain of having

penetrated the African mind, although he only approached it through an approximate translation by agency of a missionary, the very imperial agent he criticizes in *Black Power*.

Moreover, the African's Pidgin English is on principle incomeprehensible to Wright because of the alleged distortion and limited nature of its vocabulary. Although he makes the scientific assumption that Pidgin English is an adaptation of English to the tonal Twi language, Wright resents it as a form of inferiority and vows to never speak it because its lexical limitations suggest the Africans' limited intellectual capacity and inability to grasp abstract concepts. Ultimately, the travel writer assigns the extreme corporeality of the African and his lack of rational voice to his religious beliefs—because he interacts with an assumed invisible world and seems addicted to a "form of physical lyricism."

Then, it is not surprising that, even when Wright has the opportunity to hear and understand Africans, he fails to do so. On one such occasion, the travel writer asks an accompanying boy whether his grandfather remembers old history; when the old man starts to tell him of his knowledge, Wright, much to the reader's surprise, ends the conversation abruptly by thanking the boy for his kindness. Conversely, he listens in patience to such fabulous tales as that of the king's stool or to an anecdote by an African king about his army of ants. Wright does not listen to the traditional Africans when they do make sense probably, one may assume, because in his view their words cannot make rational sense. In Western eyes, they cannot and may not signify rational meaning. That is because the tribal mind, Wright argues in circle, is "sensuous: loving images, not concepts; personalities, not abstractions; movement, not form; dreams, not reality" (*Black Power* 264). The symbolic distance between Africans and Africans-Americans is further emphasized through an illustrative excerpt from *The African Morning Post*. The missing letters, the faulty presentation of facts and the amateurish format and paging illustrate an unprofessional, superficial journalism that serves to demonstrate once more the intellectual gap between Africa. As Wright questionably comments, "the Gold Coast press differs sharply from the press of the African American Negro. If one ignored the names, one would never hnow that the press was giving news of the blacle people" (*Black Power* 187-8). This remark is probably based on the similar convention and equal value of African American and white press, as Wright could not have been ignorant of their different thematic and motivating focus. Wright's point of the overall limited influence of African-American and the rest of the world for that matter is conveyed in the observation that the African newspaper and the African itself are locally specific, as "African ideas and culture do not fare well on alien soil and the African has no hankering for foreing parts" (*Black Power* 188). The cited letter of the United Missionary Alliance requesting a territory in Shana for missionary work equally stresses the African-American's degree of superior enlightenment, for they, too, are returning to Africa, in piching up the colonialist reflex, to civilize and bring religion to Africans. It is no wonder that such a harsh painted picture of African primitiveness has met the disapproval of Wright's African and Pan-African readership.

Furthermore, what usually emerges from Wright's attendance of Ghanaian political gatherings is not a better understanding of the Ghanaian fight for freedom, but Wright's apprehensive interpretation of Gold Coast politics as "smacked of the dreamlike, of the stuff which art and myths are made" (*Black Power* 82). He silences the leaders of political parties in his interviews and mostly emphasizes his own interpretations and reactions. Even though the accounts of Ghanaian officials such as Mr. Baako and Mrs. Cudjoe are potential sources of more comprehensive information about the Convention People's Party and Ghanaian life, Mrs. Cudjoe, for instance, is dismissed for the fault of being "simple, direct and factual," "incapable of grasping abstract ideas she could not give broad, coherent descriptions" (*Black Power* 102). Wright's opposition of objectivity and abstraction holds since, while his own description of Africa is broad, coherent, and capable of grasping the abstract, it fails to be simple, direct and factual. Generally, when the educated African finally speaks to Wright, the former is accused of opaqueness or sheer cupidity; during a conversation with Mr. Hagerson, Wright muses again that "most Africans are not communicative unless it's for material reasons" (*Black Power* 181).

The writer does not even dwell on Nkrumah's political speeches, although the witnessing of Ghanaian political developments was supposed to be one of the primary motives of his travel. Wright merely summarizes Nkrumah's most important speech, petitioning for self-government, but emphasizes his own interpretation of it in terms not of content, but of rhetoric. Nevertheless, revealing the real focus of his preoccupations, he extensively records his own speech at the Convention People's Party, a speech that centres on slavery, Wright's own American identity, and the common experience of human suffering. In the same rhetoric of distance, Wright's own speech to the convention abounds in deictic pronouns of immediate alterity such as "your country," "your great and respected Prime Minister," whereas the speaker refers to himself, for persuasive purposes, as one of "the lost sons of Africa"—a stranger who shares with the Africans a history of suffering and a will for freedom. The speech highlights that Wright's concern is not the Africans' societal and world view; its climax is not about the Africans at all but about the African-American experience of slavery, with five paragraphs out of eight devoted to the topic. The speech proves once more that, at a deep-structure level, the travelogue's destination is not Africa proper and its focus is not the African; on the contrary, it delineates a self-centred journey in search for self-definition and assertion against the African racial background.

A Land of Pathos

To the rational, individualistic Wright, the incomprehensible Africa is epitomized in a leitmotific term, "pathos," which the writer explicitly employs in a peculiar, Nietzschean sense. The word appears several times throughout the travelogue and features in the book's subtitle, "A Record of Reactions in a Land of Pathos." The first time it appears in the text proper, "pathos" is used to describe the condition of a young African man who approaches Wright to ask him for money in order to take a correspondence course in detective work from the US. The young man explains that his motivation for taking the course is to fight all criminal actions of British colonialists: "Detective work's for catching criminals, sar. That's what the English are, sar" (*Black Power* 72). Wright is appalled at what he assesses as a "warped view of reality" (*Black Power* 73) underlain by pathos. The second time the word occurs, it is used to describe Wright's own reaction upon being insistently propositioned by a female prostitute: "I shook my head, filled with pathos" (*Black Power* 165), in the sense of rejection. By the third time the word is employed, it is already being used to generally describe the condition of the African in Wright's view. Thus, the term of pathos re-emerges at one of the key moments in the narrative, after Wright has watched Nkrumah make a speech before the Legislative Assembly, "petitioning Her Majesty's government to enact the necessary legislation for Gold Coast self-government" (*Black Power* 169). After the tabling of the petition, Nkrumah is carried outside into the celebrating crowd, whereas Wright remains a distant observer: "But I was apprehensive about a reality that lurked behind the reality I saw… And a phrase from Nietzsche welled up in me: the pathos of distance… It was not what Nkrumah had said but what he had left unsaid that induced in me a mood of concern, of uneasiness" (*Black Power* 170). Therefore, pathos, a term of Western extraction appears to be what Wright identifies as the experience of the distance between the African and the Westerner, between his observing eye and the object of his gaze. In signifying the travel writer's position as a stranger, pathos underlies Richard Wright's rhetoric of distance.

Wright inscribes himself from the very beginning as a Westerner, and it is this acute consciousness of the Westernness of his identity that causes him to adopt the distancing attitude to Africa. Thus, through such an assessment of Africa as "Today the ruins of their former culture, no matter how cruel and barbarous it may seem to us, are reflected in timidity, hesitance, and bewilderment" (*Black Power* 153), Wright positions, positioning himself as an agent of the Western gaze, addressing a like-minded audience. While he claims to use Marxism on scientific grounds and does not explicitly advocate the West's colonial expansion, Wright never fails to present the West as the climax of culture and civilization. When he emphatically writes that the "fortuity of birth" had cast him in the role of being an African-American and

that he was thus accounted of being of African, that is, Negro descent (*Black Power* 11), the choice of words of accident like "fortuity," "role" and "accounted as" denote his perceived arbitrariness of blackness and Wright's schizoid distance not only from the black object of his gaze, but also from the black color of his skin.

The correlated severance from Africa and from race achieved by Wright's rhetoric of distance was justified as a historical necessity by Amiri Baraka, among others, who observes that "the adjustment necessary for the black man to enter completely into a white American society was a complete disavowal that he or part of his culture has ever been anything else but American" (qtd. in Smith 184); this is why the writer explicitly discards any African, i.e. 'primitive,' attributes of himself. Michel Fabre emphasizes Wright's contention that the African-American is plainly an American, a Westerner, not an African in disguise; in doing so, Wright not only contests the Africanist myth of the noble savage but, without being fully aware of it, claims Fabre, the ideology of negritude that tends to endow blacks with more soul and humanity than the rational Western white (Fabre 169). Yet Wright's lack of awareness in disavowing negritude is questionable, as he clearly declares in his travelogue and elsewhere that he is averse to negritude beliefs and *Black Power* itself makes a statement of Wright's distancing himself from the pan-African tradition. That is because Wright does not conceive of (his) identity in racial or ethnic terms, which he makes clear throughout the travelogue, but in social and historical ones. His own blackness does not signify a racial/ethnic connection to the continent and his body is perceived as foreing, he assumes, in the eyes of the natives. Then, Wright finds no other solution than to negate Africanness, promoting a social and historical identity at the expense of a racial and ethnic one. In fact, his strategy in dealing with race is to ponder on other people's racialist thought and then revert immediately to his own counter-racial thinking.

Thus, the travelogue's stated aim of providing an examination of African life and of Western attitudes to it turns into an African-American assertion, and Wright uses his voyage to Africa as a pretext for inscribing the identity of the African-American. As Chiwengo observes, the focus of *Black Power* lies not on the encounter with Africans but on the rise to subjectivity of the African-American (Chiwengo 27). While Wright often alludes to his minority status and his deprivation of freedom and authentic voice in America, he projects the same oppressive pattern on the African in order to facilitate the African-American's ascendance to subjectivity. In this case, the African-American becomes one of the two opposed terms characterized by the presence of a set of positive features—such as culture, civilization, history, consciousness; the African is the negative term, necessitating the assistance of the West. The latter has the alternative of helping Africa nobly or losing it into nonexistence. The travel writer, who distances himself permanently from the people he describes by using a communal "the Africans" and placing it in ever a generalized and abstracted context, serves to reinforce the gap between the African-Americans and the Africans. In the process of inscribing his African-American self in travel (and) writing, Wright asserts his presence and subjectivity by silencing the African. Ironically enough, Wright's self-inscription on the African object in *Black Power* eventually posits the West as the specking subject. Instead of showing the West its "hard and inhuman face" as nurrored in the consciousness of those "who live outside its confines" (Wright *Black Power* 2), all the voices in the narrative hail the West as the paramount of civilization. The African voice hardly emerges, and, when it does, it is translated into the general chous.

Conclusions

Re-placing the colonial master, Wright the Westcentric subject, defines himself not only as opposed to the African but also as different from the African-American. A Black author living in Paris, Wright is always already an exile from both the African and the American society: he is a black man in Western eyes and a westerner in the eyes of Africans.

While Wright's African journey in 1953 has Liverpool as the initial departing point, making Europe serve theoretically as the point of departure and return of his travel. Wright remains a radical exile, for whom both America and Europe are sites of his displacement and mis-belonging. Wright's Parisian place of exile may grant him freedom but preserves his marginality as the years in Paris separate Wright from America. Moreover, Wright's position in his native America is a problematic one, for he is "inside, but not organically of the West" (Gilroy 151). Consequently, Wright's initial American point of departure is as scholars have shown, a problematized space—socially and historically constructed as a land of exile, for which Africa should serve as a point of origin (Chiwengo 20); but Africa, too, proves to be no home for Wright. N. Chiwengo maintains that, "although Wright considers his European departure site his home, for him, unlike for his fellow Western travelers, the West is the socially constructed point of destination since it is solely his physical oikos and not his racial and initial geographical one" (21). However, *Black Power* shows nowhere that Wright considers Europe more or less his geographical home, but posits the West, with its values of individualism and reason, as his origin and destination of his frame of mind.

Therefore, *Black Power* fails to capture, if it ever intended, the African consciousness and renders a picture of Africa through Western eyes and concepts; what it does capture, however, is Wright's own exiliar consciousness in a radical self-determination both within and against Africanist paradigms. As Wright travels through Africa, Africans are never allowed to confirm or refute the interpretations applied onto them. Wright's perspective, as shown above, objectifies and monopolizes Africa, apprehending the black continent through the usual Western stock metaphors of bestiality, ignorance and primitiveness. As a "record of reactions to a land of pathos," the text provides an Africanist construction of Africa from which the writer then distances himself, and both motions take place within the framework of Western discourse.

Wright's authorial persona, the ruling subjectivity of the travelogue, is much like that of what George Kent called the "exaggerated Westerners" (79), especially with regard to the voice and posture he moulded in order to reach those whom he perceived to be his (Western) audience. In associating Richard Wright with another typical black traveler figure, Booker T. Washington, Ellison claims in accusatory tone that "Wright found the facile answers of Marxism before he learned to use literature as a means for discovering the forms of American Negro humanity" (120). In the case of both African-American figures, the speech and thought they espoused led to a necessary denial of certain African-American founding ideas; hence they were, in their authorial posture, exaggerated individuals alienated from their race and, to some degree, from themselves. Thus, even when they take on the task of creating themselves in literature, their vision is shaped by this state of 'exaggeratedness.' In promoting this association to his purpose of describing Wright's eventual place in the African-American tradition, R. Stepto notes that, "beyond all questions of era and place rests the simple fact that Washington was in control of the implications of his authorial posture, while Wright was not" (60-62). However, against Stepto's assessment, Wright can be said to model himself as a Westerner, that is, into a mainstream cultural identity, not because he were a "confused man" as Stepto concludes, but because he is a mobile intellectual, a cosmopolitan in search of a community transcending the predicaments of race. The travel writer will eventually find such an identity during his African, European and Asian travels, within his very position of a stranger.

As an intellectual formed in the tradition of Western discourse, Wright becomes aware of the "made" nature of his self as Western, marginal, and elitist and it is by means of literal and literary travel that Wright's progress shall eventually attain a sense of belonging, though not to a geographical or ethnic community. In his physical and mental condition as a black man living on the margin of both American and European culture, Wright finds a connection to the ideology of what he proposes as the Westernized and tragic elite of Asia, Africa and the West Indies to whom *White Man, Listen!* is dedicated, "the lonely outsiders who exist precariously on the cliff-like margins of many cultures—men who are distrusted, misunderstood, maligned, criticized by left and right, Christian and pagan—men who carry on their frail but indefatigable shoulders the best of two worlds" (Wright *White Man* 7). A (dis)community of mobile

intellectuals like Wright himself, the tragic elite of the Third World—who is depended upon for leadership during the process of gaining independence—is afforded a privileged access to knowledge as a direct consequence of its existence "on the margins of many cultures," seeking desperately for "a home for their hearts: a home which, if found, could be a home for the hearts of all men" (Wright *White Man* 7). Such alienation becomes the source not only of knowledge, but also of actions of historical consequence. This (dis)community of ideological exiles, made available to the cosmopolitan Wright through travel, becomes the mirror image of his own identity as formed and expressed in *Black Power* and subsequent works. It is in this mirror that Wright shapes a conception of his life and work: "I'm a rootless man… I like and even cherish the state of abandonment, of aloneness… It seems to me the natural, inevitable condition of man, and I welcome it. I can make myself at home almost anywhere on this earth" (Wright *White Man* 17). Eventually, it is not a geographical, racial or ethnic home that Wright finds in his travels, but an ideal home built in Western letters.

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Cultural Meanings of Figurative Speech in Contemporary Caribbean British Poetry

Abstract: This essay combines close reading and contemporary cultural theories, in order to explore several figurative patterns in which individual and collective identity are shaped in contemporary Caribbean British poetry. In the context of the post-war multicultural Great Britain and of the transatlantic cultural traffic connected with the Caribbean, the poetic discourse has become a site of cultural negotiation and visionary expression. It will be shown that none of the values associated with multiculturalism, transculturalism or cosmopolitanism are taken as fixed, but they are rather options and positions on the continuum global-local, as well as facets of an emerging complex cultural reality. The authors included in the present analysis – three Guyanese poets, David Dabydeen, Grace Nichols and John Agard, and the Barbadian Dorothea Smartt—display a great awareness of contemporary cultural change, best rendered using a culturally hybrid poetic language.

Keywords: Carribean British poetry, multiculturalism, transculturalism, cosmopolitanism, David Dabydeen, Grace Nichols, John Agard.

Introduction

In recent years, cultural theorists have noticed the necessity of a change in approaching the relationship between the nature of identity and what is understood by culture.[62] As Bhikhu Parekh suggests, cultural identity should be reconsidered in its more flexible domains, open to exchange and production. In this case, individuals need to reconfigure personal identity as a category that is connected with a rather liquid conception of cultural identity, while still preserving a sense of spiritual integrity. Along with other forms of postcolonial literary expression, contemporary Caribbean British poetry addresses the relationship between personal and cultural identity and shows a few stages of cultural transformation accompanied by inherent performative textual attributes that define a specific Caribbean aesthetics of cultural distinction and syncretism, which eventually entered the literary mainstream. To talk about cultural identity in contemporary Caribbean British poetry involves a few other discussions.

First, it should be taken into account that the term multicultural has had both a descriptive and a normative meaning and it has meant both the fact of cultural diversity and the accompanying ideologies and policies that sustain it. This type of poetry could not have been published if the poets had not emigrated or dealt with emigration aspects and if some of the British publishing houses had not advocated the postcolonial multicultural trend.

Second, the contemporary multicultural stage of the British society has been the effect of several historical epochs, from Roman colony to empire. Historically speaking, there have been intervals of increased nationalism in the former colonies in the postwar decades of the 20th century, this happening in parallel with a whole network of transnational and diasporic connections, in which a number of

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[62] For instance, Bhikhu Parekh ends the second edition of *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (2006) by emphasizing that: "A theory of multiculturalism is integrally connected with a theory of identity. During nearly four hundred years of its history, western modernity has defined identity in terms of rigid and aggressively guarded boundaries, a closure around a center. We need to reconsider this dubious, dangerous and increasingly outdated view of identity if the kind of creative and interactive multiculturalism I have advocated is to flourish" (372).

Caribbean writers—immigrants or British born and bread—have played significant roles in the process of increasing the awareness of the life conditions regarding the postcolonial subjects. Thus, the contemporary British multiculturalism emerged as an objective reality and eventually as a strategy opposed to assimilationism—"salad bowl" or "cultural mosaic" rather than "melting pot"—in which tolerance and adaptability are valued, culture is not a cult, racial difference and hybridization have become natural, barriers against mobility are often eliminated and the principles of justice are expected to come from not only one culture. The relatively recent social and political history regarding the so-called failure of the multicultural project in relation to Great Britain and Europe at large constitutes a proof that it is, in fact, the subject of a continuous reconfiguration that takes into account various power relations in terms of the transcultural and cosmopolitan as well, which may be considered concurrent views of the same complex reality.

Third, the contemporary social relationship between the Caribbean diaspora and other diasporas in Britain has generated a type of polycentric consciousness that suits some of the values the sustainers of cosmopolitanism defend, such as: an inclusive and shared morality; relationships of mutual respect, despite differing beliefs (Appiah); and a general support for the Other (Levinas). In contrast with the idealism, elitism and uprootedness of modernist cosmopolitanism,[63] transculturalism involves the everyday practice of seeing yourself in the others, relies on the forces of society and not on domestic politics, on individual initiative and on a breaking down of boundaries, which multiculturalism re-enforces, when cultural heritage is at stake. As Fernando Ortiz put it in the 1940s, transculturation is neither acculturation nor deculturation, but the natural tendency to resolve conflicts over time, rather than exacerbate them. Among the relatively recent literature on the transcultural, one can notice an obvious focus on the possibilities of personal identity self-reconfiguration. For example, psychoanalysts such as Laurence J. Kirmayer write extensively on transcultural psychiatry, while psycho-sociologists develop models of transcultural competences,[64] including perspective consciousness, ethnographic skill, global awareness, foreign language proficiency or affective development. Unsurprinsingly, writers such as Mica Nava (2007), who identify themselves as cosmopolitan, integrate memory and historical context and stress "the importance and general theoretical marginalisation of the affecttive elements in cosmopolitanism: of emotions and imaginaries, of empathy and desire, of the visceral" (135). Thus, the transcultural and the cosmopolitan sometimes overlap. They meet in the attempt to connect the individual experiencing plurality to the already existing global history of plurality, which is one possible reply to the request for a new idea of cosmopolitanism more concerned with justice, made by Jacques Derrida (2001).

Analysis

In a recent account on modern British culture, Higgins, Smith and Storey (2010) argue that:

> far from being an archaic form of expression, the contemporary British poetry articulates a vibrant and youthful challenge to the traditional power structures of language and literature, energised, as it is, by Black British poets as well as the regional cadences of Scottish and Welsh poetry. The ambivalences of identity are central concerns of British poetry's 'hybrid voice.' Such poetry explores the many possible roots and routes of 'belonging' in contemporary Britain (5).

It is worth noticing that at the level of literary products such as poetry, critics do not insist on any form of -ism, but they talk about hybridity, syncretism and other similar notions, which says enough about the

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[63] This view is often accompanied by underlying ideas of universalism, ahistoricity, hierarchy of civilizations or Eurocentricity.

[64] Richard Slimbach, "The Transcultural Journey." *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* Vol. XI, August 2005. Web, 28 July 2012.

poets' role in articulating new cultural forms, because many of them deal with the invisible side effects of ideologies and the conflicts that may arise from their differences.

Starting from several poetic texts, this essay argues that none of the values associated with multiculturalism, transculturalism or cosmopolitanism are taken as fixed, but they should be considered as possible options and positions and strategic items on the discursive continuum global-local and collective-individual and as facets of an emerging contemporary complex reality. I believe literature is a place that allows such simultaneous configurations and alternatives, in which various extremes can often be tamed and hybridized into a balanced and yet playful discourse.

In contrast with previous Caribbean prose writers, who approached mainly the Prospero-Caliban master-slave or colonizer-colonized relations, the Guyanese author David Dabydeen's art dwells extensively upon the Miranda-Caliban rapport, which he considers more revelatory and productive. In 1992, Laura E. Donaldson identified a cultural and psychological misrecognition in what she called "the Miranda complex." She remarked that: "A crucial question raised by the coupling of Miranda with Caliban, then, is why these two victims of colonialist Prosperity cannot 'see' each other" (Donaldson 16). Instead of perpetuating the ideological trap of the rape charge that separates the two Shakespearean characters, Dabydeen does not consider it "the lie," as Barbadian novelist George Lamming suggests in his novel *Water with Berries* (1972) and does not rage against the matter as Aimé Césaire's Caliban does in *Une Tempête* (1969), translated in 1992 into English: "Rape! Rape!" he shouts at Prospero, "Listen, you old goat, you're the one that put those dirty thoughts in my head" (Césaire 13). In his poems, Dabydeen starts from the premise that Miranda and Caliban see each other. He rather takes over what Césaire suggests with Prospero's reflection: "Power! Power!" Prospero intones, "what is power, if I cannot calm my own fears?" (49). In Dabydeen's poem entitled "Caliban" from *Coolie Odyssey* (1988), the Shakespearean hero has regained the power of reason and remembering, as far as his desires are concerned, and can reflect on his own birth and rebirth:

> The first night
> I endured your creation
> We talked desperately
> Foraging the details of my youth
> Like two tramps at a tip:
> Finding riches among the rubble
> was your Romance.
> I remember diving into the pit but
> coming up
> Glittering in your eye—
> Goldleaf or edge of assegai:
> You were always bountiful with fantasy,
> Fashioning me your Image or
> casting me Nature:
> White woman, womb of myth,
> foundry or funeral pyre
> Where like a Hindu corpse I burn
> and shrink
> To be reborn to your desire! (34)

As Jonathan Goldberg (2004) shows in his critical interpretation of *The Tempest*, Caliban's cultural birth is very ambiguous, and the origin of his mother is far from natural. In the above stanza, Caliban addresses his creator in an ambivalent manner: according to the first eleven lines, "your creation" can stand for Shakespeare's play; the surprise comes when the "white woman" takes centre stage. The ambivalence

that engenders a multilogue among four figures—Caliban, the white woman and the two authors standing by their characters—is sustained by the double or multiple meanings of some lexical devices. In the comparison "like two ramps at a tip," "tramp" can be a homeless beggar, a long tiring walk or a promiscuous woman, while "tip" can be both a top or extreme end and a refuse dump. All these remind us that an author is always in search of stories to tell, begging for them as if he were begging for food, either by rewriting reality or by imagining it. The long tiring walk to the top is another image of man's struggle to understand the world and its creation. The third meaning of "tramp" stands for the gender, sexual haphazard and the trope of the monstrous, which the (post)colonial frame has re-enacted.

A second example is "I remember diving into the pit but coming up / Glittering in your eye," in which "the pit" can be hell, the ground-floor of a theater behind the stalls, a depressing situation or British slang for "bed." The action of "coming up" alludes to the rise of the sun, or to a feeling of achievement. Dabydeen suggests that Caliban, as a personage in *The Tempest*, remembers his literary making, the theatre of his first representations and the words the playwright put into his mouth and that, however unpleasant it might have been, he managed to play his role exceptionally, but "glittering in your eye," an expression of anger imagined by his postcolonial creator. A more relevant reading, suggested by Caliban's address to the white woman, sustains the meaning of "the pit" as bed, which stands for what Shakespeare's Miranda does "not like to look on," sex with the devil, hence her anger. The capitalized "your Romance," "your Image" and "Nature" also hint at Shakespeare's artistic skills and visionary intuition.

Apart from these plurivalent readings that transmit both recognition and criticism within the British context, the poet introduces two elements specific to the Caribbean interracial and transcultural encounters: the "edge of assegai," a southern African tree (its wood is used in making spears and lances), which reiterates a propensity for belligerence and a return to nature; and the reference to the Hindu sacrificial rite of incineration, as an expression of dissolution in the name of love and a reference to the Indo-Caribbean tradition that preserved it. Such entanglements not only bring together different cultural backgrounds, but generate types of dynamism and energy specific to our times and of interest to theorists of cultural politics. Drawing on Parekh's dialogical, two-way character of multiculturalism—that it is more than tolerance and co-presence—, Modood (2007) proposes a multilogical model, involving mutual learning and evaluation and a richer understanding of humanity, which reflects Dabydeen's view.

Two questions arise. Is the "white woman" presented in the poem a new kind of woman, a contemporary white woman? If she is a creative subject, does Dabydeen imply that "the blue-eyed hag," Sycorax, could have been a white woman? In any case, it is not simply Shakespeare's Miranda, but a distinct discursive construction. If the first stanza is a recollection of a heated intimate mythical episode, the following two stanzas mark the separation of the two characters. Prospero's spell is appropriated comically by an allusion to Stephano's bottle:

> Afterwards, when the drunkenness
> of words
> Receded, the pool of myth
> Evaporated to uncomfortable sweat,
> The residue of memory
> Of a mere instant of delight,
> You, in the cruelty of morning flight,
> Face composed and underclothing
> Unruffled by experience,
> Return so crisply, so unambiguously
> To sunlight (Dabydeen 34).

The trope of the sea, subtly suggested in the first stanza, where only the references to things such as the "edge of assegai" and the "Hindu corpse" are hierophanies that imply sea journeys to the continents of Africa and Asia, is reduced to a "pool of myth / Evaporated to uncomfortable sweat." Therefore, the trope of dangerous water or *kala pani* undergoes a Heraclitean process of transformation. Rendered almost unbearable by "the cruelty of the morning flight"—"flight" read as journey by plane, escape or exuberant imagination—, Caliban's anxiety regarding the interracial encounter increases when confronted with her "Face composed and underclothing / Unruffled by experience." The epithet "unruffled" reminds one of unruffled sea and reinstalls the Shakespearean distance between Caliban and Miranda, with the main difference that their intimate bond is not a lie or a joke any more. Dabydeen implies that the color problem did not start with the immigrants in the 1950s, but it began in the colonies, during the first encounters between colonizers and colonized, when mixed marriages were often regarded as monstrous. Hence, the poem ends with a Caliban in love, despite his being deserted:

> Whilst I, coiled blackly within myself,
> Paralysed with rage and wonder,
> Straining still to sense your presence,
> Craving still the magic of your
> making (Dabydeen 34).

It is significant that the place of rebirth is subjected to two transformations from stanza to stanza: the "womb of myth" becomes "the pool of myth" and, eventually, shrinks once more to the "uncomfortable sweat" of "myself," a function meant to connect the cultural and the personal. It is also significant that Dabydeen does not use Miranda for the white woman, and that he celebrates "the magic of your making," where "you" is the complex cultural Other from Caliban's point of view, a complex Other involving an author, main characters, secondary characters and absent characters, such as Sycorax, whose ethnicity has long been the subject of confusion and heated debates.

One may ask whether this Caliban is multicultural. A positive answer is supported by the references to several traditional cultures, which at textual level gain discursive equality. Yet, the failing love affair the poem is about implies that a conglomerate of various cultural essences may not be sufficient for a healthy relationship. Is this Caliban transcultural? Yes, because the poem refers to a possible interracial encounter not in the former colonies, but anywhere in the world and across time. And no, because the speaking subject seems to be unhappy with the ambiguities of intercultural social relations and eventually to stick to his spiritual guns. Is this Caliban cosmopolitan? Yes, because he uses his multiple diasporic experience to speak about love in the first person singular, leaving behind a significant artistic trace based on memory. And no, because he does not seem to feel at ease and content with his multiple belongings and hybrid identity. Dabydeen's Caliban becomes then a site where various cultural strategies come under discussion, with their pros and cons, which models a type of constant multilogical relationship between individual and collective subjectivities.

In her second volume, *The Fat Black Woman's Poems* (1984), Grace Nichols dealt with the need to dismiss cultural stereotypes regarding black women and celebrate belonging to a former homeland, in a British world that cultivates modernist cosmopolitan habits and customs, significantly differrent than those practised in Guyana, as in the often quoted poem "Like a Beacon":

> In London
> every now and then
>   I get this craving
> for my mother's food
> I leave art galleries

in search of plantains
saltfish/sweet potatoes
I need this link
I need this touch
of home
swinging my bag
like a beacon
against the cold (27).

Along with the two stanzas, the median line binds the two places that the poet belongs to geographically, emotionally and culturally. If Dabydeen only alludes to a bond between very different subjects and leave its content open to interpretations, Nichols clearly places her own voice and desire in between. The lines "this craving / for my mother's food" and "the plantains / saltfish/sweet potatoes" are specific to Guyana, while "art galleries" and "the cold" are signs of Britishness, which spells out a mobile position that can make familiar food more important than cosmopolitan art, a type of art that appeals to an international audience. As many other postcolonial writers, the poet advocates the anthropological approach to culture, in contrast with what theorists define as high culture, in order to present a reality related to everyday human subsistence, the emotional impact of otherness and the biological sensations and transformations a travelling body is exposed to. Nichols's poem is a clear form of de-identification followed by self-identification, a sensitive reply to those who think that diasporic, transnational and cosmopolitan identities dissolve national identities, in terms of structures and feelings. One of the most celebrated women poets in Britain, Nichols has expressed a continuous sense of struggle as far as belonging is concerned, which so far has covered geography, history, culture, psychic and cosmic realms. This is in line with David Harvey's metaphor of "geographies of freedom" and with his conviction that cosmopolitanism is rooted not so much in ideal forms of freedom but in human experience that connects specific spaces.

A similar alluring and rightful, yet troubling and intriguing, inbetweenness is suggested by Grace Nichols in "Wherever I Hang," a poem from *Lazy Thoughts of a Lazy Woman* (1989), a volume that partially continues the play upon Western stereotypes regarding black women. She compares life in the Caribbean and life in England, as well as her expectations and the sheer reality of the English social habits. Written in the form of a soliloquy and using Creole English for a better identification with her people, the poet confesses: "I leave me people, me land, me home / For reasons, I not too sure / I forsake de sun / And de humming-bird splendour" or "I begin to change my calypso ways / Never visiting nobody / Before giving them clear warning" or "Now, after all this time / I get accustom to de English life / But still miss back-home side" (Nichols 10). Caught between an abandoned world and the overwhelming, yet fashionable, exteriority of her new identity,—"I pick up me new-world-self"—, the author is apparently doomed to vacillate and find stability in instability, as she concludes:

I don't know really where I belaang
Yes, divided to de ocean
Divided to de bone
Wherever I hang me knickers—that's my
home (Nichols 10).

The indentation of the two lines underlines the importance of associating geography and body as sites of simultaneous outer and internal conflicts and contrasts with life in the city, where the walls are "solid to the seam." As well as in the previous poem, food is used as a means of comparison and identification to emphasize not only cultural, but also social, racial and class difference: "de people pouring from de underground system / Like beans" (Nichols 10). Simultaneity of meaning is present in lines such as "I get accustom to de English life," which can be read as "I get a custom to the English life" (Nichols 10) too. This

type of play upon the gap between Creole and Standard English reveals that immigrant women preserve the customs and traditions of their country of origin, while many of them struggle for recognition in the new environment.[65] Although the humorous and very British ending line implies an attachment to the new world, the poet prefers the specificity of body, as she often demonstrates throughout her poetry, in which she imagines feminine figures that break stereotypes and spatio-temporal limitations. The "long-memoried woman" of her first volume, which evokes the black woman of the Middle Passage and slave trade, the humorous "fat black woman," a discursive embodiment of the Hottentot Venus of the 19th century, or Cariwoma, a reincarnation of the feminine spirit of the Carib and Arawak tribes addressing mythical figures of the world, are all part of the Caribbean Pleiades the poet imagines, with the purpose of building a livable universe. Nichols's definition of "home" is in line with Patke's observation that "postcolonial poetry bears witness to the nomadic dimension of contemporary existence" (12).

Simultaneously, it represents Britishness as one of its most materially intimate manifestations. Although Caribbean, and Black British poets in general, write a type of translocal poetry, as Jahan Ramazani (2010) argued, they also have needed to display an essential position, apart from the dynamic attachment to sites related to different geographic locations, and that dwells on a specific force of language and art.

The third poem taken into consideration, "Newton's Amazing Grace" by John Agard, from *We Brits* (2006), is a rewriting of "Amazing Grace," the well-known Christian hymn composed by John Newton in 1772. It is a double-voiced act of parallel calls to the Lord and yet talking to each other in the domain of the invisible. Simultaneously, Newton is an alter ego of the Caribbean poet, indirectly addressing his own wife, the black woman poet Grace Nichols. The poem begins with Newton's regret that he forgot about moral values in his tumultuous youth, when he worked in slave trade, and Agard's self-reproach of not calling his wife by her first name, a subtle reiteration of the Shakespearean question "what's in a name?":

> Grace is not a word for which I had
> much use.
> And I skippered ships that did more
> than bruise
> the face of the Atlantic. I carved my
> name
> in human cargo without a thought of
> shame.
> But the sea's big enough for a man
> to lose
> his conscience, if not his puny neck.
> In the sea's eye, who is this upstart speck
> that calls himself a maker of history?
>
> It took a storm to save the dumb
> wretch in me.
> On a night the winds weighed
> heavy as my sins,
> I spared a thought for those poor
> souls below deck.

---

[65]The touch of Creole is in line with Franz Fanon's reevaluation of what national culture meant in the 1960s, in the new, postcolonial context. He adopted a class approach to cultural representation (for example, a national literature should address its people and be based on oral tradition) and even criticized "the intellectual laziness of the middle class, of its spiritual penury, and of the profoundly cosmopolitan mold that its mind is set in" (Fanon 149). However, Nichols does not dismiss the cosmopolitan idea altogether, but cultivates it, as it is obvious in her last work, *Picaso, I Want My Face Back* (2009).

Terror made rough waters my
Damascus road.
Amazing grace began to lead me
home.
Lord, let my soul's scum be
measured by a hymn.

The chronotope of the ship that "bruise[s] / the face of the Atlantic" signifies the multiple facets of violence which freedom may have entailed during colonialism, either in cultural or personal relationships, political or individual, racially determined or based on gender differences. The notion of violence is again technically and subtly evoked by the couplet "use" / "bruise," rhyming also with abuse and later with "lose," and by the delay the enjambment suggests. The construction alludes to a further valorization of what Paul Gilroy (1993) coined with the chronotope of *The Black Atlantic*: "In opposition with these nationalist or ethnically absolute approaches, I want to develop the suggestion that cultural historians could take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis in their discussions of the modern world and use it to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective" (15). In line with Gilroy's proposal, many Caribbean poets have been sensitive to the idea that the Atlantic Ocean can be inhabited, at least emotionally and imaginatively, no matter how horrific its history of slave trade was. Thus, the sustainers of multiculturalism should bear in mind that diversity does not simply represent an aesthetic mosaic reality—that would be static and superficial. Diversity may involve collective traumas, feelings of shame and irreconcilable subjects, too. The next rhyme of Agard's poem, "name" / "shame," hints at the constructedness of any name and at the subjectivity of language in the attempt at imposing certain discourses on others, rendered here as "human cargo." The poet invokes the power of the sea, as a threatening natural force and in opposition with the human power, to question the position of man in the world, by parallelling the colonizer's adventurous character, hunting Moby Dicks in the waters of history, and the postcolonial poet's dream of making history with his verse. The subtle references to William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and to Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the World* (1963) in the same line reinforce the problematic of shame, extended in time and geographically, and implies the need of sharing it in the process of releasing the psychological tumult it generates. The lost lives of the black people that Newton might have thought of are valorized by the poet in an act of internalization and recognition, even though that means referring to his own weaknesses. At this point, the poet marks a progression of the errors man can be prone to, a progression from geography to the human psyche, from the Atlantic to the "rough waters" that make his own "Damascus road," a reference to Christianity as a system of values. This internalization of the error that creates terror and hurts the self, splitting it into unbearably multiple processes specific to hybridity and transgression, is an expression of passion and of its unhealthy effects, which can be cured by faith in love, as the poet suggests with his "new tone."

Perhaps the most surprising device, the simultaneity of the two voices in Agard's poem reminds us that any multi-construction is more than a manipulable multitude or a mass of items. It may resemble a forest or a sea but its trees or waves, although they are similar and repetitive, they are unique parts of an open whole. The confessive tone tightens the singularity of the two voices in their vulnerability and invites us to see the practice of individual relationships beyond any cultural strategies and how they articulate in artistic productions. Part of a volume in which Agard tackles the matter of being British, the poem captures the feeling of confusion identified by political scientist Tariq Modood (2007), familiar with rightist and leftists arguments regarding Britishness and following Will Kymlicka's theory of "multicultural citizenship." Modood warns that: "We cannot ask new Britons to integrate and go around and saying that being British (or English) is a hollow-out, meaningless project whose time has come to an end" (151). The aspect of simultaneity and integration of voices proposed by Agard is then in line with Modood's belief in a "moderate, pragmatic yet, inevitably, uneven multiculturalism" (15), contrary to its critics and sometimes

advocates, and with his concern that "today's national identities certainly need to be re-imagined in a multicultural way" (151). It opens up a relational perspective between the colonial past and the postcolonial present and points out the practice of intercultural dialogue.

One could argue that many of the immigrant poets have progressively renounced employing Creole English in their poetry, as a form of distancing from their roots and a switch towards more promising new routes. However, in her 2008 collection entitled *Ship Shape*, poet Dorotheea Smartt from Barbados continues her linguistically hybrid poetic project begun in her first volume, *Connecting Medium* (2001), in which she tackled aspects related to the first-generation immigrants. The main part of her second volume is dedicated to the figure of Samboo, a black young man taken by an English captain from Africa to 18th-century Lancaster. Samboo's short stay in England before dying was recorded by historians and his tomb is now a monument. Although "reluctant to reconnect" (Smartt 24), the poet reimagines Samboo's journey from Africa to Barbados and to England and the atmosphere in each location, his rich palette of feelings when he attempts to make sense of events, the sailors and their wives' lives, his encounters with white people in Barbados and England and, eventually, his sudden death due to total socio-cultural incongruence. The poems vary in shape and style, but some of those dealing with aspects of renaming and personal identity consist of stanzas with short lines, no more than three or four syllables, meant to signal an essential message and the relation between particular words and the significance of punctuation. In the poem "my calling," the author uses Creole English to project her personage at the confluence of his own possible perception of himself, her attitude and the others' mentality on a young black foreigner of Muslim religion:

> I tell dem
> my name is
> Bil'...
> *Bill*,
> they reply,
> *Right you are,*
> *young Samboo,*
> *Bill it is.*
> Dey laugh at
> me. And I
> keep de source
> of m'smile
> hidden as I
> whisper to
> m'self – yes
> yes I is my
> father, the muezzin, son; I is
> Bilal (35).

The inbetweenness is supplied by several binaries: there are two concessive distances between Bilal and Bill and Bill and Samboo, the former as an interruption that awakens memories, the latter as a sign of adoption, as if the sailors said "you are one of us now," the opposition between Creole English and the quoted words in Standard English plays in reverse the technique of Creole quotations which poets belonging to previous generations used in order to introduce flavor in their texts; the parallel between the sailors' manifest laughter and Bilal's hidden smile opens space for wisdom, which the reader is subtly reminded to attach to the black man; then there is a tension between objectification and subjectification implied by the line "me. And I," in which the full stop partially interrupts the objectification and the "I" gains more space in the boy's consciousness, until he remembers his "father, the muezzin," whom he

identifies with in the longest line of the fragment; finally, the use of the apostrophe signals disruption and reconnection, both in linguistic and discursive terms. With the interrupted name "Bil' [...] / Bill," Smartt makes an analysis of hybridization by delving into some of its stages and suggests that living near a multiple different individual always involves negotiation and adjustment, and that negotiation is not always manifest, but it involves thoughts left unspoken and not simply unconscious. Smartt's collection was published soon after Modood wrote on the marginalization of Muslims in the British society on grounds of their religion. Instead of seeing only the illegitimacy of the current Muslims' assertiveness, the political theorist advocates a careful analysis of the boundary between the private and the public, between religion and secularism. Although Samboo-Bilal is a character of the 18th century, Smartt's cross-cultural poems are one subtle way of making a claim that religious identity should be part of the public space.

Conclusions

With these samples, one can argue that contemporary Caribbean British poets are highly aware that resignification in a multicultural world is not simply a variety of repetition and that any cultural—ism has its own imperfections. In the context of migration, a possible metamorphic pattern of cultural progress can be configured. It begins with the split self, unaware of its potentialities in the new environment. Then it continues with admitting the division and the inherent gap(s) between unequal cultures, and with locating home where one is able to manage anxieties. Eventually, there is a new stage, in which one can play and master the conflicting facets of identity, by artistically replacing them with other agencies or masks.

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Where Do We Go from Here? The Globalised World as Reflected in Rose Tremain's *The Swimming-Pool Season*, *Letter to Sister Benedicta* and *The Road Home*

Abstract: There are certain words that seem to have become definitory for our European lifestyle. Among those, 'multiculturalism,' 'globalization' and 'the European Union' have become the labels that are applied everywhere and every time. It is no wonder that, for quite some time now, writers have tried to exploit the newly found pro-European Union theme of cultural diversity sans frontières, in an attempt to catch up with their times. It is also true that the issue of post-colonialism still provides writers with rich sources for books. British contemporary author Rose Tremain is by no means an exception; on the contrary, she has always welcomed controversy and challenge in a book of fiction. Therefore, my paper will focus on three of Rose Tremain's novels, in an attempt to answer the question in the title, 'Where do we go from here?'. In our contemporary world, nobody is happy 'at home,' and the mirage of other horizons haunts the contemporary mind and soul. This paper will examine the journeys that Tremain's characters make from Britain to France or India and back, and Eastern Europe to Britain and back. Irrespective of the characters' destination, the result of travelling half the world in search for work/one's lost self is the same: redefing and/or reinventing oneself in the process.

Keywords: Rose Tremain, globalization, post-colonialism, oneself, traveling

Introduction

Even before the 20th century was over, it has become obvious to everyone (politicians and artists alike) that the key to success in one's career was discussing 'global' issues, such as globalization or global warming. Other words ensuring one's success in mesmerising the masses have come under the spotlight; thus, 'multiculturalism,' 'globalization' and 'the European Union' have become the magic words that define our contemporary lives.

It is no wonder that, for quite some time now, European writers have tried to exploit the newly found pro-European Union theme of cultural diversity sans frontières, in an attempt to catch up with their times. At the same time, the issue of post-colonialism still provides writers with rich sources for their books. British contemporary author Rose Tremain is by no means an exception; on the contrary, she has always welcomed controversy and challenge in a book of fiction. Therefore, my paper will focus on three of Rose Tremain's novels, in an attempt to answer the question in the title, 'Where do we go from here?'. In our contemporary world, nobody is happy 'at home,' and the mirage of other horizons haunts the contemporary mind and soul. This paper will examine the journeys that Tremain's characters make from Britain to France or India and back, and Eastern Europe to Britain and back. Irrespective of the characters' destination, the result of traveling half the world in search for work/one's lost self is the same: redefing and/or reinventing oneself in the process.

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Rose Tremain is a British contemporary writer whose fiction has covered, so far, a variety of themes, and her books have focused on characters that could not differ more one from another even if they tried. In this respect, Tremain's characters range from historical personalities[66] to contemporary average people such as a butler, a divorce lawyer's wife or a transsexual. In the novels I plan to discuss here, the characters who try their luck far from home could be our contemporaries; thus, in one book, we read about men and women of different nationalities who, for a number of reasons, settle in a French village, while the other two present us with two main characters who interact in Great Britain, and whose stories complete each other. For a better understanding of the mechanisms that tie *Letter to Sister Benedicta* (1979) and *The Road Home* (2007) closely together, I intend to ignore chronological order[67] and discuss them both in the second part of my paper, while I focus on *The Swimming Pool Season* (1985) in the first.

I. Leaving Great Britain

I.1. Shall We Go to France?

By 1985, when she publishes *The Swimming Pool Season*, Rose Tremain is already the author of three books that portray lonely characters in search for their lost identities or real selves. The main characters of these first three novels are: a frustrated and homosexual butler who reviews his past while trying to get on with his life after his employers' death,[68] a woman whose husband falls ill and dies, leaving her to sort things out for herself,[69] and an old writer who recounts war events from her past to an American reporter.[70]

It seems only natural that, after three books revolving round the lives of singular lonely characters, Tremain should take one (narrative) step forward and operate (at least) two major changes: on the one hand, she now opts for a large international bunch of characters, which interact and confront each other on a double level: personal and cultural/national. On the other hand, the writer places those characters in two parallel spaces, that carry within them important cultural features: one is rural France, the favorite space of the tired English person, who goes there to relax, and the other is Oxford, which represents the natural choice for the intelligentsia to work in. I will focus on the former location, rural France, for my demonstration of how cultural diversity may contribute to the changing (for better or for worse) of one's identity. Still, before that, in order for me to clearly set the boundaries within which I operate, I will briefly discuss here a few concepts, such as 'nation' and 'globalization.'

I start my analysis from Ernest Renan's famous lecture 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' ('What is a nation?'), delivered on 11 March 1882 at the Sorbonne; despite the fact that most ideas have changed since the 19th century, Renan's view has been revisited and revalued by contemporary theorists, especially by those interested in post-colonial studies. In his lecture, Renan discusses the elements that could be considered responsible for our judging a group of people as a 'nation,' among those, there are race, language, religion, community of (commercial) interest, geography. Nevertheless, his conclusion is that:

> A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is the present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form (Renan 19).

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[66] such as King Charles II of England or King Christian IV of Denmark

[67] *Letter to Sister Benedicta* is Tremain's second novel, while *The Road Home* is her tenth.

[68] *Sadler's Birthday* (1976)

[69] *Letter to Sister Benedicta*

[70] *The Cupboard* (1981)

According to Renan, then, a nation embraces the past and its legacy, and the 'present-day consent, the desire to live together'—these two definitory elements will help me identify the national(istic) features that are easily ascertained in *The Swimming Pool Season*, as well as draw the line between the notions of 'nation' and 'community' or 'global village.'

Since my paper requires a brief explanation of the notion of 'global village,' I will resort to another opinion on groups, this time pertaining to renowned contemporary philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah, who explores the relations of personal and group identity in his 2005 book *The Ethics of Identity*. Here, he differentiates 'globalization' from 'cosmopolitanism,' introducing the term 'global village' as belonging to the latter category. He justifies his reluctance to take the omnipresence of "ideas, objects, and people from 'outside'" as the obvious sign of 'globalization,' by stating": "For, as I have suggested, you could describe the history of the human species as a process of globalization: the globalization, if you like, of the longue durée—in fact, of the longest humanly possible durée, that of the period within which we have been fully human" (Appiah 216).

Appiah rejects the idea of 'globalization' as the factor that causes the transformation of the 'world' into a 'global village': "Our increasing inter-connectedness—and our growing awareness of it—has not, of course, made us into denizens of a single community, the proverbial 'global village'" (216). Conversely, the philosopher suggests that the term 'cosmopolitanism' would render the idea of the 'global village' more accurately: "A cosmopolitan should—etymologically, at least—be someone who thinks that the world is, so to speak, our shared hometown, reproducing something very like the self-conscious oxymoron of the 'global village'" (Appiah 217).

In view of the these clarifications made by Renan and Appiah, I will try to approach Rose Tremain's novel as an invitation to share in cultural diversity—especially while discussing the 'global village' of Pomerac and its inhabitants. Still, it is by exploring personal and group identities that Tremain will manage to describe an accurate cultural scene.

The story told in *The Swimming Pool Season* is simple: Larry is an English contractor who chooses France as the space where he plans to relax and reorganize his thoughts after his swimming-pool business has collapsed. His 50-year-old wife, Miriam, is a paintress who, from the very beginning of the book, receives a letter summoning her to return to England to attend her ailing mother, Leni. These two main characters have connections to many people in both countries, and the story will unfold in both Pomerac and Oxford. Nevertheless, the focus of this paper will be on dissecting the former, while saving the latter for another analysis, in another paper.

First of all, the French village is perceived by Larry as a real person, in a country he's trying to make his own, but which refuses to enter his blood or his language or his longings or his will. It's like a hopeless mistress, beautiful, frigid, cold, dry. And the effort of possession is tiring. He's trying still, but he's tired out (cf. *TSPS* 14).

Larry's attempt at taming the French village, or at mere relaxing in that (cultural) environment, is doomed by the time the book begins. After Miriam's departure to Oxford, Larry decides to build the ultimate swimming pool in France, as a gesture of his warming up to Pomerac. To that end, he invites his (French) neighbors to partake in his endeavors (and, hopefully, successful transformation); as it is expected, these neighbors have a variety of reactions. Interestingly, Gervaise, Larry's raising-cows neighbor, loves the idea of a swimming pool, and her German lover, Klaus, helps Larry with the work on the pool, because he dreams of the pool as a cathedral. Each person sees the swimming pool through his/her own glasses; for instance, Gervaise is overwhelmed by this idea:

> Gervaise feels as emotional as on her Saint's day at the thought of this apparition slowly forming behind her south wall. As if worlds she will never see have been brought to her doorstep. As if her love of Pomerac, deeper by fathoms than any pit sunk in Larry's garden, is now nevertheless shared by this stranger who has chosen to spend his money not in Paris or Hollywood but here, under her very nose. (*TSPS* 143)

In Gervaise's mind (as well as in Klaus's), Larry tries to integrate parts of him into her community, he contributes to the 'global village' that she lives in; therefore, his effort is to be encouraged.

Conversely, another neighbor opposes Larry's idea and efforts: "Madame de la Brosse got a demolition paper out of the Mayor. Illegal, they pretended it was. They said Larry needed official permission…" (*TSPS* 270). It is not clear whether it is nationalism or the pride of being French (i.e. the arch enemy of the English) that plays a crucial role in Madame de la Brosse's decision to demolish Larry's swimming pool. We are not explicitly told so by the narrator; all we can guess is that the people opposing Larry's struggles (Madame de la Brosse and Mallélou, Gervaise's husband) must have some identity issues. In the case of Madame de la Brosse, it is the very fact that she has lost her social status in the village, and, by taking a legal stand against Larry, she may reconfirm her status of important person; in Mallélou's, it is sheer malice, or the revenge of the impotent.

Interestingly enough, Tremain tells us the story of Mallélou's love for his German mistress, then explains to us how the job he had, as a railway signalman, makes him an impotent, and how, once moved at the country, it is his wife, Gervaise, who begins her affair with their German help, Klaus. Moreover, the latter's affair is approved of by her husband, who sees in Gervaise and Klaus's union a means to punish his peasant wife.

Another character considers that 'There was something fantastical in Larry's project, something comfortingly mad' (*TSPS* 274). It is the opinion of Docteur Hervé Prière, the first Frenchman Larry could understand. This character is secretly loved by Nadia Poniatowski, but, far from loving her back, he chooses to leave for America, at the age of 51. His dream is that of becoming 'somebody,' a real person: "In America he becomes a man of substance. People take care of his needs" (*TSPS* 198).

Maybe the most interesting and challenging character depicted by Tremain as belonging to Pomerac is the Polish woman, Nadia Poniatowski, who, despite her linguistic difficulties (which amuse the reader), is the most talkative character, and the most complex. She has her French husband, Claude Lemoine, incarcerated in his 'Adjustment Home' in the Pas de Calais flatlands. She and her children are better off without him, she says; her Polish ancestry is something Nadia is very proud about: "I changed my name back to Poniatowski, and the children's names, they're Poniatowski now and I'm teaching them about their Polish ancestors" (*TSPS* 26). What this woman loves is talking, and listening to others: "The details of lives, their longings and tragedies. She envies marriage counsellors their daily glut of private knowledge" (*TSPS* 26).

It is Nadia who offers friendly advice to Larry, and who gets help from him, in return—their friendship is briefly transformed into an affair, whose sexual, rather than sentimental, nature is obvious to both characters. Still, Nadia dares to tell Larry—in her funny manner of speaking—the truth about how she sees him: "I don't know what is the English heart made of? Waste, I'm thinking. You live in the constipated heart!" (*TSPS* 146). Unable to speak accurately, Nadia seems to compensate that by reading everyone else's feelings and moods.

The story as such ends indecisively: Miriam calls Larry to come to Oxford and comfort her after Leni's death, and it is there that he gets the phone call from Nadia announcing him that the swimming pool was demolished. The story begins in Pomerac and ends in Oxford, in a circular movement that unites people of different nationalities and social types. While Tremain's conclusion whether the 'global village' is a cosmopolitan dream or not is still pending, readers may very well ascertain one thing: the novel invites them to imitate the gesture made by one of the characters, The Maréchal: "When the English started to come to the village, he raised his hooded eyes to glance at their shiny, big cars and their marble faces and merely shrugged with despair and disbelief: 'C'est la comédie humaine, non?'" (*TSPS* 33).

All in all, *The Swimming Pool Season* offers its readers a refreshing view of the Other as our neighbor, whose values prove as valid as our own, and whose adversity helps us reshape our identity. More than

anything else, Tremain's novel stands as a possible version of 'la comédie humaine', an all-time game that we take part in.

I.2. Shall I Go back to India?

This second novel that I plan to approach is entitled *Letter to Sister Benedicta* because the female protagonist, Ruby Constad, tells her story in the hybrid shape of letters and journal. Once her husband Leon falls ill, Ruby pretends she is writing a letter to a teacher from the Convent School Ruby attended in childhood, in colonial India: Sister Benedicta. In fact, all these messages to the addressee are self-referential, reminiscences of the self in search for a lost or forgotten identity. Never to be sent, the letters that make up the novel register the heroine's attempt at recuperating a state of mind that should help her recover her soul. Sister Benedicta is given the role of a confessor (the narratee in the novel), and her physical (in)existence is irrelevant to the fictional narrator/ heroine.[71]

Confronted with serious family troubles[72] culminating in Leon's stroke, that places him (paralysed, totally dumb) in hospital for an indefinite time, Ruby resorts to "memory therapy" and chooses as her confessor—instead of the modern psychoanalyst—the nun who taught her when she was a child. She remembers that, as Ruby Waterhouse, she was a happy Catholic, confident in her future. Gradually, we are explained why the transformation into the other Ruby, the one who tells the story, is equivalent to falling from the state of grace that is called love; the heroine's attempt, hence, obviously becomes one of recapturing one's identity with the help of that another self, from the past. Moreover, the ghostly Sister Benedicta seems to appear, in the heroine's mind, the keeper of the secret of love and communion with God—one more reason to conjure her spirit.

The dilemma Marc Guillaume speaks about when he wants to differentiate another from the other one seems an essential one in the case of the transformation undergone by Tremain's heroine. He cuts down the problem of identity to the confusion—convenient, for the colonial and post- colonial modernity that Ruby lives in—another is the other one:

> To put things in a simpler way, each another (autre) hosts the Other one (autrui)—that which is not me, which is different from me, but which I can understand, even assimilate—but there is, also, another type of otherness: radical, inassimilable, incomprehensible, and even unimaginable. And the Western mind never ceases taking another as the Other one (autrui), reducing another to the Other one (autrui). (Guillaume 6).

Ruby's life story reveals the heroine's drama: she is the meeting point of different, sometimes opposite features and influences. Thus, she begins her life as the daughter of a fat colonel, whose constitution she unluckily inherits, and of a skinny housewife, who was "dry of love" (*LTSB* 18). Then, as far as religion is concerned, she renounces Catholicism when she marries a Jew. Furthermore, even though she was educated by nuns, in India (the British colony), now, at the moment the story unfolds, she is living in London and thinking of India. Her family provides more reasons for dissatisfaction. Firstly, she is the mother of a daughter converted, first to lesbianism (by Sue), then to an incestuous relationship (by her brother, Noel). Secondly, she is nothing but the wife of a successful solicitor, who constantly cheats on her and who, overwhelmed by the gravity of his own children's actions, on hearing the news, reacts by having a heart attack.

All those elements give us the complete picture of the reality Ruby is confronted with and which she cannot accept without putting up a stout resistance. Owner of an identity defined exclusively by relating to the ones around her, Ruby Constad sees herself in terms of the other one, the one she was not supposed

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[71] Ruby calls Sister Benedicta "silent nun, dead or alive, wherever you are" (*LTSB* 7).

[72] Her husband Leon has a lover, and her son Noel has an incestuous affair with her daughter, Alexandra, in an attempt to 'heal' her from lesbianism.

to have become, fat and loveless; consequently, in order to redeem herself, she resorts to the image of that another Ruby—with a name taken from the feminine symbolism, Waterhouse—whom she remembers with the precise goal of recovering or re-inventing her identity. Her refusal to think in Western terms is dictated, mainly, by the reminiscent bits of her childhood in colonial India. That is why, in order to recover her soul, Ruby sees a voyage back to India as a 'must.'

Our heroine's strategy of confronting and defeating Leon's illness with the help of prayers, candles and conjuring of (the spectre of) Sister Benedicta as a mediator with the divinity presupposes a dichotomic approach: she has to become someone else, for him to re-become who he was not long ago. The Biblical commandment "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" has, in the present case, aporetic aspects: Ruby loves her neighbor, but she has to learn again how to love herself. Love, essentially, appears to her as an unknown thing she has to deduce from the entangled equation of life itself: "I don't believe I understood love," Ruby confesses to the white page, "All I understood really was a feeling of belonging. I knew that I wanted to belong, to merge, to lose myself" (*LTSB* 53). Left without her daily menial purpose of seeing to other people's needs, and forced to reflect upon her own existence and relationship with the others, our heroine discovers a troubling loss of her own self as a loving entity: "I really don't know what I shall do with this self, only let it trudge purposelessly about, legs taking it here and there [...] heart with so feeble a love for the whole self that I sometimes feel, why did no one ever teach me how to love myself, only taught me that I must put the whole world and everything in it, even the things I cannot see, before the self" (*LTSB* 17).

Obedient to her spouse, then to her children, from the very moment they are born, our heroine tries to break the limits imposed on her all her life, and she succeeds not only in setting herself free from the narrow pattern of a housewife, but also in freeing herself from the Catholic dogmata and in reaching the true destination of her existential (and narrative) journey: all-embracing love, that knows no limits, and stems from the primordial love for one's own self.

The failure of Sister Benedicta's teachings might be due to the highly theoretical aspect of the teachings, or to the conventionalism existent in any approach, even when prayer and love are included. If one wants to reach the love of the self, limits, be they caused by fear or by the respect we hold to a superior, must be shattered down, or, in Liiceanu's words:

> Before opening myself towards another, taking him inside my boundaries or surrendering myself to his boundaries, I have to understand my boundary in a positive way. [...] All true loves and all acts of freedom begin as love for one's own limit. First, I have to "like myself" in order to stand myself as the main character of my own life and to make myself the subject of my freedom. [...] Love for the self is the prerequisite of freedom. (126-127)

Transcending or shattering the constraining limits is done here with a little help from the spectre of the character who was more experienced with freedom: Ruby's godmother Louise. Educated in the Catholic spirit, just like Ruby, she abandons the theory and icons of Christianity in favor of the love for her Jewish husband—a love whose power touches all the people surrounding them. Louise's rejection of the falsehood she perceives inherent in the Church is expressed in her wish not to have priests at her side even in the last moments of her life, tragically shortened by cancer. The authenticity of having lived a full, accomplished life, is to remain intact; at the same time, it questions the necessity of mediators (such as priests) on the road to happiness. Ruby's gratitude for the example shown by Louise is immense, because it helps her break her bonds: "Thank God you lived, Louise, and showed me a life that was so joyful and unafraid" (*LTSB* 172).

The discoveries involuntarily made by Ruby, while confessing to a ghostly and silent interlocutor lead, inevitably, to a split. First of all, the heroine decides to break the boundaries drawn by her husband: "I believe I've already made a contradictory resolution, which is to break my habit of obedience to Leon and

begin to feel free of him" (*LTSB* 128). Secondly, she undergoes a major physical change: she loses weight and, consequently, she begins to recapture the real image of herself, representative of her identity. Still, the most important confession/split is the one concerning her beliefs: "I don't know, Sister. Sometimes, when I remember India, I think I only loved God just to please you" (*LTSB* 128). The split from Catholicism (coincident with the moment when, months after the initial stroke, a second stroke comes and Leon dies) becomes irreparable. Nevertheless, this separation is not perceived as a drama, but rather as a progressive loss, that, due to its prolonged agony, exhausts all reserves of remorse or resentments : "I'm not a Catholic any more, Sister. I've forgotten how to be one. In the Oratory, I always felt like a stranger and, worse than this, I always doubted" (*LTSB* 163). Ruby's last decisions, before leaving the place of her misery, is to leave the children all the money inherited from Leon (he makes her his unique heiress), and put the house to sell. Her gesture of freedom is obvious: she plans to go to India, the place where she felt complete once, a long time ago. Leaving Britain for India is Ruby's choice to find herself, to love herself for who she is. But will she succeed in her attempt? Tremain's novel leaves its readers hopeful, keeping their fingers crossed for Ruby. Thirty years later, though, *The Road Home* gives them the answer.

II. Leaving for Great Britain

The Road Home approaches the problematic subject of work migration from Eastern to Western European countries, after the fall of the Russian 'empire.' What is interesting about this book is Tremain's choice to have as a protagonist a migrant belonging to a former communist country. Some of Tremain's reviewers have noticed her preference for the 'outsider,' as Marion McLeod puts it on "The Outsider" (*The Listener Archive: Arts and Books*), "for all the geographical and historical variety, what Tremain does, over and over, is tell the outsider's story." Nevertheless, while this 'outsider' is a favorite with all postmodern writers, Tremain's sympathy for the lonely, dispossessed character does not alter her tendency to address current issues such as post-colonialism and globalization.

The story begins with the promise of a 'road novel,' in which the main character, a 42-year-old Slavic lumberyard worker, travels to London to try his luck and find work. With a dead wife that haunts his dreams, a five-year-old daughter, Maya, and an old-fashioned mother, Ina, Lev has no other choice but to leave the poverty-stricken village of Auror and migrate to 'the promised land.' In fact, Tremain imagines several characters with similar stories, and uses them as counterparts of her protagonist. Thus, Lev's companion on the coach travelling across Europe is a plump, mole-flecked woman called Lydia, who is also making her way to London in search for a better future. At this point, her future seems somewhat clearer than Lev's: she knows English (and tries to teach Lev some), and she has job interviews lined up and friends to stay with. For her, life in London looks promising.

Conversely, Lev finds himself in the land of uncertainty, and he constantly walks on shifting sands: his English is poor, his skills as a lumberyard worker are useless in the British metropolis, his past is bleak and his future grey. He has a plan to find out the secret to capitalist success and to use it to his benefit: "I'm going to their country now and I'm going to make them share it with me: their infernal luck" (*TRH* 6).

When he arrives in London and he needs to take a bath, Lev knows that that gesture would also symbolize the letting-go of the past: "This is the mud of my country, the mud of all Europe, and I must find some rags and wipe it away…" (*TRH* 18). As Emmanuel Levinas puts it, "the modern is constituted by the consciousness of a certain definitively acquired freedom" (124). In order to transform himself, Lev has to wipe the slate of his past clean. His freedom depends on it, "It is a freedom that does not bow before any factual state, thus negating the 'already done' and living only for the new'" (Levinas 124).

Things do not start well for Lev, and he has to call Lydia for help. Consequently, Lev is rescued from the streets by his traveling companion, who is now staying in a good neighborhood, with some friends from her country. Despite Lev's refusal to make love to her, Lydia scans the 'Wanted' columns for him and manages to find him a job as a kitchen porter in a restaurant under a famous chef, G. K. Ashe, and a room

with Christy Slane, an Irish plumber who lives in Tufnell Park. Slane has a sad story, too: his daughter stays with his ex-wife, the reason why he gets drunk all the time. Still, the two men's deep longing for their little girls transcends the language barrier, and Lev makes his first friend in London.

Slowly, Lev starts feeling more confident and he understands some of the rules of the Western country. Nonetheless, Lev's journey through London also makes him feel the rage of being dependent on others. No matter how hard he tries to learn English, no matter how hard he works his fingers to the bone in Ashe's kitchen, he will always be a foreigner. On top of everything, a disaster caused by Lev's inability to understand either the English language or modern plays, and getting himself arrested, results in Lev's being sacked by Ashe. What Lev reproaches to the world is "You don't know the world. Only this small England. You know nothing, nothing" (*TRH* 210).

At this point in the narrative, we, readers, encounter a dilemma that is both cultural and narrative. Miraculously, it is solved, again, by a phone call. Actually, Lev keeps in touch with Rudi, his friend back home, with whom he converses quite frequently. Still, it is another compatriot, Vitas, who helps Lev, by telling him about salad- and asparagus-picking in Suffolk, with a crew of many-hued migrant workers (two Asians among them). It is also Vitas who tells him that Lev's village is to be destroyed in order for the authorities to build a new dam. Tremain employs a whole multinational team to help Lev succeed. Thus, after hatching a new plan to make money, Lev returns to London and Christy, and gets two jobs: one as a waiter in a Greek restaurant, the other as a chef at Ferndale Heights. His former employer, G.K. Ashe helps him with the budget for the restaurant Lev is planning to open in his own country. Lev's story has a happy ending, with him as the savior of his family and friends.

Not all characters in the novel share Lev's incredible luck. His coach companion to London, Lydia, who plays an important role in his development, goes down the social ladder. Translator to the famous conductor Pyotor Greszler, Lydia has a good start in her London adventure, only to fail once the Maestro no longer needs her. She finds a job as a nanny, but she is deeply dissatisfied with both her job and her life. In the end, since luck seems to avoid her as a nanny, Lydia accepts Pyotor Greszler's proposition and becomes his mistress. He is 70, but she is desperate—end of story.

There are a lot of characters of different nationalities that play a part in Lev's London (or Suffolk) adventure, and they all have a lesson to teach Lev. For instance, his first employer, the Arab Ahmed, has a few 'words of wisdom' to share with Lev: "Ahmed smiled and said: 'A man may travel far, but his heart may be slow to catch up'" (*TRH* 37). In his turn, the Irish Christy Slane introduces Lev to the 'football metaphor of success'—all that counts is the ball in the net. Even G.K. Ashe, who gives Lev the sack, offers to give him a hand with the planning of Lev's new business, and turns from ex-employer into a friend. Vitas, the young compatriot who lets Lev know about the authorities' project to turn Baryn into a dam, is another 'helper' in this success story.

Moreover, *The Road Home* also offers Tremain the opportunity to revive one of her best-loved characters, Ruby Constad, who plays a vital role in Lev's story. This character likes to tell everyone the story of her happy childhood in colonial India. On her dying bed, many years after returning from her journey to India, Ruby helps Lev raise the money for his own business and, consequently, for his return home. Ruby is both a rescued and a rescuer here: she is rescued from loneliness by Lev, and she rescues him in return, both financially and emotionally. Though Lev's story is what matters here, one cannot overlook an interesting fact: by including Ruby Constad among Lev's 'helpers,' Tremain also answers the questions raised about the ending of her second novel, *Letter to Sister Benedicta*. In a way, we can say that Tremain has written one novel, but she has completed two stories.

Tremain herself confirms the idea that *The Road Home* is a postcolonial novel. She writes in her 'Acknowledgements,' at the end of the book: „My grateful thanks to Jack Rosenthal for showing me how to pick asparagus properly, and for the introductions to his Polish field-workers, who told me true and invaluable tales from Eastern Europe" (*TRH* 367).

Following that lead, some of her reviewers mistakenly take Lev for a Pole. Actually, readers never learn which specific country he comes from. Following all the clues given in the book (the Kalinin mountains, the village of Baryn, the Russian cigarettes, 'the communist food' mentioned as a title at page 337), I, for one, would tend to identify Lev's country with Ukraine. Nothing of the sort is specifically said in the book. When Lydia introduces Pyotor Greszler to Lev, she speaks of him as "the well-known conductor from our country" (*TRH* 57). This omission of nationality, at first disconcerting, gives Lev's story a convincingly general quality: he becomes a New-EU Everyman, standing for all the new migrants. They all know more or less English, have more or less money or contacts, but they all share a hope: for a job, a room, a phone, a chance. In one word, a life.

Conclusions

A lesson in cultural diversity and in human understanding—that is Tremain's message at its core, irrespective of the novel we analyze. Globalization comes at a price, she seems to say, in *The Swimming Pool Season* and *The Road Home*, but that does not mean the price is not worth paying. Recovering your soul means going far away, she suggests in *Letter to Sister Benedicta*. One after another, the three novels discussed in this paper have shown us how cultural diversity may help us better define ourselves. And, in the end, it is worth going the distance, if the reward is finding ourselves while discovering others.

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La révolte des clercs - une tentative d' autonomisation du champ littéraire au XIIIE siécle?

(The Clerks' Rebellion – an Attempt towards the Independence of Literature during the Thirteenth Century?)

Abstract: The medieval clerk can be considered as an 'intellectual' in its modern sense since he has been affirming his independence from the bullying ecclesiastical power from the 12th century onward. Some fabliaux and principally the 13th-century dits show him as the artisan of a reflection on the connections between literature and society: wondering about the connections between power and university or women's place in a clerical life, he initiates a new type of expression still modest but allowing literature to affirm itself as being a counterpower.

Keywords: intellectual, clergymen, Church, literature, Middle Ages.

Motto: Si l'on doit admettre que c'est seulement à la fin du XIXe siècle que parvient à son accomplissement le lent processus qui a rendu possible l'émergence des différents champs de production culturelle et la pleine reconnaissance sociale des personnages correspondants, le peintre, l'écrivain, le savant, etc., il ne fait pas de doute qu'on peut en faire remonter les premiers commencements aussi loin que l'on voudra, c'est-à-dire au moment même où des producteurs culturels font leur apparition, qui luttent (presque par définition) pour faire reconnaître leur indépendance et leur dignité particulière (Bourdieu, "Règles" 423).

Introduction

Que le Moyen Âge soit par excellence le temps des clercs est une évidence que nul ne songe à contester. Encore faut-il s'entendre sur le sens qu'il convient de donner au mot 'clerc.' Depuis que Julien Benda l'a rajeuni pour en faire un synonyme d' 'intellectuel,'[73] les risques de confusion semblent en effet multipliés. Il n'est cependant pas certain que les deux acceptions du terme soient si incompatibles qu'on pourrait le penser de prime abord. En intitulant un livre vite devenu classique *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*,[74] le grand historien du Moyen Âge, Jacques Le Goff, a audacieusement renversé le coup de force de Benda: si les intellectuels modernes pouvaient être traités de clercs, les clercs médiévaux n'avaient-ils pas droit à leur tour d'être considérés de plein droit comme des 'intellecttuels'? De fait, Le Goff ne se contentait pas de rehausser la dignité des premiers universitaires: il montrait que les stratégies de pouvoir de ces derniers étaient, à bien des égards, comparables à celle des universitaires d'aujourd'hui et que le réveil de l'Université française au XIXe siècle s'était construit sur un fond de luttes d'influences et de revendications politico-sociales comparables, au moins structurellement, à celles qui avaient accompagné, au XIIIe siècle, la naissance de cette institution.

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[73] Julien Benda, *La Trahiuon des clercs*. Paris: Grasset, 1927. Print.
[74] Jacques Le Goff, *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Seuil, 1957. Print.

Cinquante ans après la parution de son ouvrage, la démonstration de Le Goff reste, du moins dans ses lignes essentielles, incontestée. Il s'en faut cependant de beaucoup qu'on en ait tiré toutes les conséquences qui auraient dû s'imposer quant à l'art littéraire médiéval, art sur les qualités duquel la critique non spécialisée reste encore circonspecte, pour ne pas dire hostile: les clichés ont la vie dure et les grands théoriciens de la littérature ne semblent pas toujours admettre de gaîté de cœur qu'il y ait eu en France, avant Villon, des réussites littéraires dignes de figurer aux côtés de celle que la 'littérature mondiale' a consacrées. À dire vrai, la cause principale de cette méfiance semble résider dans une vision du champ littéraire médiéval comme unilatéralement dominé par des champs de pouvoir parmi lesquels celui du religieux se taillerait la part du lion. Dans le prolongement de mon ouvrage *La voix des clercs*,[75] j'aimerais proposer ici une reformulation de mon propos susceptible d'être intégrée dans le questionnement plus vaste de l'histoire longue des avatars du champ littéraire. Ce faisant, j'espère montrer que, si l'on ne peut pas, à proprement parler, dire que l'on assiste au XIIIe siècle à une véritable autonomisation du champ, on peut néanmoins déceler parmi une petite poignée d'auteurs identifiables les traces d'une réflexion sur les potentialités de la littérature, qui tend à considérer cette dernière comme idéologiquement indépendante des cadres institutionnels dominants et à esquisser une définition de l'écrivain qui puisse, au moins idéalement, se situer au-dessus des contingences sociales qui en font, dans la pratique, un personnage prisonnier des instances à qui il doit son statut.

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Le mépris caricatural d'un Sartre envers l'art littéraire du Moyen Âge qui se serait, selon lui, réduit au travail stérile de moines copistes n'est heureusement plus de mise, quoiqu'il continue sournoisement à entretenir des idées reçues commodes sur un sujet que l'on hésite souvent à approfondir par crainte des pré-requis scientifique qu'exige son étude. Les médiévistes passent en effet pour les tenants d'une discipline rébarbative, la philologie, et on prend volontiers prétexte—en domaine francophone du moins—de l'altérité (certes difficilement négociable) de la langue médiévale par rapport à la langue moderne, pour refuser d'en étudier la littérature au même titre que celle des siècles suivants. Au palmarès d'un bêtisier dont on ne cherchera pas à produire ici toutes les pièces, on se contentera de citer, et sans autre commentaire, cette déclaration, vieille de moins de vingt ans, de Milan Kundera, dont on ne saurait à vrai dire décider si elle relève davantage du mépris, de la bêtise ou de la simple méconnaissance: "Le roman européen [...] a commencé à l'aube des Temps Modernes en Europe. Il y a bien sûr d'autres romans: le roman chinois, japonais, le roman de l'Antiquité grecque, mais ces romans-là ne sont liés par aucune continuité d'évolution à l'entreprise historique née avec Rabelais et Cervantès" (41-42).

À peine plus subtile que celle de Sartre, l'opinion de Roland Barthes, qui estimait que "*mutatis mutandis*, le Moyen Âge a vécu uniquement en relisant des textes anciens, grecs ou latins" ("Le Grain" 91), pourrait à la rigueur être considérée comme une reconnaissance de la dimension fondamentalement intertextuelle de la culture médiévale. De fait, le même Roland Barthes s'est ailleurs montré mieux informé, définissant, à la fin de *Critique et vérité*, ce qu'il appelait "les quatre fonctions distinctes" que pouvait occuper le scribe médiéval par rapport au livre: le *scriptor*, le *compilator*, le *commentator* et l'*auctor* (83). Ce développement a été repris par nombre de commentateur après Barthes et on en trouve sans doute un souvenir dans l'allusion que fait Bourdieu dans *Les règles de l'art* au "commentateur professionnel de textes (littéraires ou philosophiques, et, en d'autres temps, religieux), que certaine taxinomie médiévale opposait, sous le nom de *lector*, au producteur de texte, *auctor*" (Bourdieu 319).

On comprend bien, cependant, que réduire l'art littéraire médiéval à des pratiques d'écriture revient à confondre les conditions d'une genèse avec les produits qui en résultent. Qu'une civilisation sans

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[75]Alain Corbellari, *La voix des clercs*. Genève: Droz, 2005. Print.

imprimerie ait de toutes autres idées que la nôtre sur le rapport du texte à son commentaire, sur la dignité de la chose écrite ou sur la notion de propriété intellectuelle est une évidence qui ne saurait a priori empêcher qu'il y ait eu, à cette époque, des auteurs conscients de leur dignité, voire soucieux d'affirmer, jusqu'à un certain point, leur autonomie par rapports aux structures qui les faisaient vivre.

Dire que toute écriture médiévale est inféodée au monastère n'est pas plus éclairant que d'affirmer que tous les écrivains du XXe siècle seraient des suppôts du pouvoir étatique sous prétexte qu'ils ont tous passé par l'école gratuite, laïque et obligatoire. Le parallèle n'est, au demeurant, pas absurde: au delà du fait que l'inventaire des possibles liés à la formation scolaire est aujourd'hui incommensurablement plus vaste que celui que permettait, au Moyen Âge, le passage par l'instruction monastique, il n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'aujourd'hui comme alors c'est bel et bien l'institution formatrice qui offre aux professionnels de l'écriture les meilleures chances de s'insérer, en manière de repli stratégique et financier, dans le monde du travail rémunéré: de la carrière monastique à celle de professeur de lycée, c'est moins les progrès d'une sécularisation qui s'observe que le transfert presque insensible d'une structure de pouvoir intellectuel dans une autre.

Parler 'du' Moyen Âge n'a—il faut l'avouer—pas grand sens dans une étude des champs culturels et sociaux qui informent l'habitus de celui que l'on appellera plus tard l'écrivain: aussi convaincu que l'on puisse être par la pertinence du concept de 'longue durée,' on ne refusera pas sans mauvaise foi à ces mille ans d'histoire le droit à avoir vu se succéder des configurations de champs fort differenttes. On proposera ici d'en distinguer deux dont la seconde est elle-même divisible, quoique de manière moins tranchée, en deux modèles successifs. Chose remarquable, les trois périodes au total que définissent ces configurations recouvrent elles-mêmes trois moments fort différenciés du rapport de la langue à l'écriture: dans la première (du Ve au XIe siècle) seul le latin s'écrit, la seconde voit l'émergence de la littérature en ancien français, à travers tout d'abord une première période liée à des genres littéraires spécifiques (XIe-XIVe siècle) et une seconde où les structures de la langue (on passe de l'ancien au moyen français) et les hiérarchies du champ littéraires se trouvent complètement bouleversées (XIVe-XVIe siècle), au terme d'une période de transition qui a duré une cinquantaine d'années (et dont la Grande Peste de 1347-1349 peut figurer la césure idéale).

La première configuration correspond à la période du haut Moyen Âge. Les quelque six siècles qui s'étendent de la désintégration des structures de l'empire romain, autour de l'an 500, à la prise de Jérusalem par les Croisés, à la veille de l'an 1100, est en effet caractérisée par deux constantes majeures:

1°. la relégation exclusive de la culture écrite dans les monastères et dans de très rares et sporadiques écoles palatiales, dont l'éclosion se limite pour ainsi dire aux 'renaissances' carolingienne (env. 790-860) et ottonienne (env. 970-1010).

2°. la non-accessibilité à l'écriture de la langue vernaculaire.

Ajoutons à ces caractères culturels une stagnation économique qui, liée à l'aspect résiduel du peuplement urbain et à la faiblesse des liens entre les diverses populations européennes, maintient la civilisation occidentale loin derrière les civilisation orienttales, musulmane et même byzantine qui lui sont contemporaines et avec lesquelles elle entretient peu ou pas de contacts. Dans un tel univers, l'activité intellectuelle et artistique reste confinée à des pratiques très locales qui ne communiquent entre elles que de loin en loin, formant un réseau lâche dont la solidité est déjà grande, mais qui reste sans incidence significative sur le reste de la population (tant aristocratique que populaire). De grands intellectuels, tels l'Espagnol Isidore de Séville, l'Anglais Bède le Vénérable, l'Irlandais Alcuin à la cour de Charlemagne, l'abbé

Raban Maur de Fulda, ou encore Jean Scot Erigène sont des phares dont l'œuvre ne sera pas oubliée,[76] quoiqu'elle ne rayonne guère au delà des centres reconnus. Les densifications du réseau que l'on a nommé 'renaissance carolingienne' et 'ottonienne' n'ont profité, au delà des monastères, dont elles ont certes contribué à augmenter le nombre, qu'à une frange infime de l'aristocratie, pratiquement limitée à l'immédiate proximité des diverses cours impériales. On ne s'étonnera pas, dans ces circonstances, que la littérature non seulement reste exclusivement latine mais qu'elle ne s'aventure que sporadiquement au delà des limites du champ religieux: significativement, les exceptions ressortissent toutes à la proximité de la cour impériale. L'école palatale d'Aix-la Chapelle développe en particulier, à la suite de Venance Fortunat qui, à la fin du VIe siècle, incarne véritablement le trait d'union entre les pratiques poétiques curiales antique et médiévale, un type de poésie encomiastique qui ne s'épanouira véritablement qu'à patrir du XIIe siècle et dont les tenants sont les prototypes du personnage du courtisan dont les métamorphoses seront nombreuses jusqu'à ce qu'au XVIe siècle Castiglione en trace l'indépassable portrait.[77]

Une poésie vernaculaire s'élabore, certes, souterrainement (il y a lieu de penser que la tradition épique se nourrit de l'histoire carolingienne plus qu'elle n'y trouve son origine), mais si certaines de ses productions commencent—très sporadiquement—d'accéder à la dignité de l'écriture en domaine germanique, les pays latins résistent longtemps: on n'a ainsi conservé que cinq textes et fragments 'littéraires' français, sûrement antérieurs à 1100 (il faudra même attendre un siècle de plus pour l'italien) dont un seul (*La vie de saint Alexis* des environs de 1050) est d'une certaine longueur: tous relèvent de la vie de saint ou du commentaire biblique. De la poésie profane, nulle trace écrite avant cette date. Manifestement, évoquer pour cette période un quelconque désir des professionnels de l'écriture de donner quelque autonomie à leur pratique relève du pur anachronisme.

La charnière des XIe et XIIe siècle représente donc à tous égards le tournant majeur de l'époque médiévale. On s'épuiserait à redresser ici le tableau mille fois refait de la 'Renaissance du XIIe siècle.'[78] Quelques repères significatifs suffiront.

C'est d'abord le moment de l'explosion des foyers d'enseignements: les monastères augmentent considérablement leur rayonnement intellectuel, et surtout, des écoles commencent de s'ouvrir dans les villes. Guibert de Nogent disait dans son *Autobiographie* que, dans son enfance (c'est-à-dire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle), il y avait une "telle disette de maîtres de grammaire" (*tanta gramaticorum charitas*) que la plupart des villes en étaient dépourvues (Nogent 26-27), alors que cinquante ans plus tard, l'enseignement florissait partout. Certes, il faut faire la part du style dans cette déclaration: les auteurs médiévaux usent et abusent presque sans y songer de l'antithèse et de l'hyperbole. Cependant, sans avoir toute la précision statistique que réclameraient des sociologues sourcilleux, les travaux les plus récents n'ont pu que confirmer ce brusque changement de régime du processus de transmission culturelle (cf. Verger 123-145): la masse critique enfin atteinte permet au champ intellectuel de sortir de sa stagnation et d'entamer une croissance qui sera particulièrement spectaculaire aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Le confinement des clercs est dès lors révolu et le savoir commence à s'émanciper du pouvoir religieux. Le processus, cependant, reste lent, et on a peut-être fait un peu trop d'honneur à Abélard en faisant de lui la figure emblématique de ce changement de perspective: certes, Abélard tente de concilier foi et raison dans une recherche dialectique de la vérité; certes, sa distinction entre les mots et les concepts annonce le nominalisme qui, avec Guillaume d'Ockham au XIVe siècle, possédera une réelle force subversive face aux dogmes chrétiens; certes, enfin, son installation sur la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, au tout début du XIIe

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[76] Pour la période allant des Invasions aux prodromes de la renaissance carolingienne, voir Michel Banniard, *Genèse culturelle de l'Europe. Ve-VIIIe siècle*. Paris: Points, 1989. Print.

[77] Pour la culture curiale du XVe siècle, voir en particulier Joël Blanchard et Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Ecriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*. Paris: PUF, 2002. Print.

[78] Voir Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1927. Print.

siècle, est une étape importante du déplacement des études théologiques dans la capitale du royaume, qui mènera, vers 1200 à la fondation de l'Université de Paris. Mais, de même qu'il n'est pas absolument le premier théologien parisien, Abélard n'est pas non plus tout à fait le premier théologien à utiliser les textes d'Aristote pour construire son discours, et sa connaissance, encore très partielle, des œuvres du Stagirite est sans commune mesure avec celle dont se prévaudront les universitaires du XIIIᵉ siècle; d'autre part, son obédience au christianisme reste très orthodoxe, et on a pu soutenir que son attitude arrogante et tranchante[79] avaient été, davantage que ses idées elles-mêmes, responsables des persécutions qu'il eut à souffrir en particulier de la part de saint Bernard de Clairvaux, partisan d'une stricte soumission aux mystères de la foi.

Les villes prennent également un essor décisif à cette époque, et avec elles l'économie, qui élargit considérablement ses marchés, au XIIᵉ siècle, au point de poser les bases de ce qui va devenir le capitalisme. Le Goff, d'ailleurs, qui avait acclimaté le mot 'intellectuel' dans l'époque médiévale, n'hésite pas ici à utiliser le mot 'capitalisme' pour les XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles[80] confirmant une idée déjà exprimée par Fernand Braudel[81] à savoir que l'analyse par Max Weber des rapports entre capitalisme et protestantisme était parfaitement pertinente à la seule réserve qu'il fallait en inverser les signes: ce n'est en effet pas le capitalisme qui découle du protestantisme, mais bien ce dernier qui s'est épanoui dans un Occident qui avait levé, et ce dès le XIIᵉ siècle, le tabou catholique sur l'usure et la dignité du travail économique.

Le travail artistique se développe dans les mêmes circonstances, mais il convient, à ce propos, d'être prudent: la ville ne crée pas ipso facto un milieu favorable à l'expression d'un art indépendant du clergé et de l'aristocratie; il faudra en effet attendre le XIIIᵉ siècle pour que se développe véritablement, encore que de manière très locale, un mécénat urbain en faveur des artistes, et cette tentative sera en fin de compte, nous le verrons, tout à fait éphémère.

Le XIIᵉ siècle voit enfin la naissance véritable de la littérature française. Et ici la sociologie de la littérature n'a pas été en reste d'hypothèses pour en expliquer l'émergence. Les travaux les plus marquants, de ce point de vue-là, sont ceux que l'Allemand Erich Köhler, d'obédience ouvertement lukacsienne, publia dans les années 50 et 60. Dans *L'Aventure chevaleresque*, dont le titre allemand (repris comme sous-titre de la traduction française), *Ideal und Wirlichketit im höfischen Epik,*[82] est plus explicite de son intention, il explique le succès des romans de Chrétien de Troyes par le fait que leur structure, présentant la conquête d'une situation sociale prestigieuse par de jeunes chevaliers sans fiefs, correspond parfaitement aux désirs d'ascension sociale des cadets des familles aristocratiques que la société féodale maintient dans une position marginale. En d'autres termes, le chevalier en quête d'aventure serait au XIIᵉ siècle ce que le petit bourgeois est à la société du XIXᵉ et du début du XXᵉ siècle. Cette lecture, qui eut l'incontestable mérite de rompre avec les analyses de sources jusque là prédominantes et de chercher à comprendre le roman arthurien selon les catégories de l'époque qui en vu l'épanouissement, pose la question de l'intention de l'auteur: Chrétien de Troyes n'aurait-il cherché qu'à assouvir les fantasmes de ses commanditaires? Une telle réduction de son projet nous paraît inadmissible: en rabattant le rêve sur

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[79] Dont on peut juger à la lecture de sa fameuse autobiographie, l' *Historia calamitatum* (*Histoire de mes malheurs*. Paris: UGE, "Bibliothèque médiévale," 1977), dont les marques de subjectivité sont telles qu'on en a souvent (sans preuves décisives) nié l'authenticité pour en faire une œuvre de la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle: toute l'arrogance de l'universitaire français moderne, prêt à tout pour obtenir les postes clés, se lit déjà à un degré hyperbolique dans ce témoignage extraordinaire.

[80] Voir Jacques Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers au Moyen Âge*. Paris: PUF, "Que sais-je?", 1956. Print.

[81] Voir Fernand Braudel, *La Dynamique du capitalisme*. Paris: Flammarion, "Champs," 1985. Print.

[82] Voir Erich Köhler, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1956. Print; *L'Aventure chevaleresque: idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois. Études sur la forme des plus anciens poèmes d'Arthur et du Graal*. trad. de l'allemand par Eliane Kaufholz avec une préface de Jacques Le Goff, Paris, Gallimard, " Bibliothèque des histoires," 1974.

le réel, au nom d'une lecture freudo-marxisante, Köhler se condamne à lire comme déni de réalité une production imaginaire hautement ludique et spirituelle. Mais son autre grande théorie, exposée dans un article mémorable,[83] e heurte à des difficultés plus graves encore: elle postule en effet que l'émergence de la poésie des troubadours, première poésie vernaculaire de l'Occident, découle du désir d'ascension sociale de ses auteurs, et pour ce faire, Köhler est obligé d'affirmer que les troubadours appartenaient tous à la petite noblesse, ce qui est démenti d'une manière écltante par le fait que le tout premier troubadour connu, Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine, fut l'un des plus grands seigneurs de son temps, plus puissant même, sans doute, que le roi de France. Köhler prévient l'objection en disant que Guillaume fut la caution qui permit au genre de la chanson courtoise d'exister, et donc l'exception qui confirme la règle, mais il n'appuie son affirmation de l'origine 'petite-noble' des autres poètes sur aucune donnée statistique sérieuse: et pour cause! Si dans le cas du roman arthurien, le désir d'élévation sociale était celui du lecteur, il se retrouve ici prêté aux auteurs eux-mêmes et réduit la naissance de la littérature profane française à un avatar de la lutte des classes. Dans les deux cas, ce qui se dégage de l'analyse köhlerienne, c'est le refus du primat de l'imaginaire: à aucun moment n'est envisagée l'idée que la littérature permettrait non pas de mieux intégrer l'espace social, mais plutôt de bâtir, en retrait de celui-ci mais non forcément dans son oubli, une vision esthétique qui permettrait de s'affranchir, fût-ce partiellement, de sa tyrannie. Or, les historiens sont aujourd'hui d'accord pour dire que le système féodal ne devient veritablement opérationnel, dans l'Occident médiéval, qu'au XIIe siècle, ce qui revient à dire que les premiers romans arthuriens et la lyrique courtoise, sont contemporains de ce mouvement social et donc qu'ils l'accompagnent beaucoup plus qu'ils n'en découlent. On a longuement glosé sur le plus ou moins de réalité des "cours d'amour," mais ce qui paraît certain, c'est qu'elles ont été littérature avant d'être réalité (si elles l'ont jamais été). Michel Stanesco a bien montré, dans une étude dont l'orientation anti-marxiste est certes affirmée de manière presque trop polémique[84] (mais en fait déjà Johan Huizinga),[85] que le modèle littéraire, surtout à la fin du Moyen Âge, ne saurait se réduire à une survivance à travers laquelle une classe en perte de vitesse tâcherait de compenser son irrémédiable déclin: jusqu'au XVIe siècle, le roman de chevalerie reste bien, toutes classes confondues, un genre que l'on savoure sans arrière-pensée.[86]

Par son analyse trop unilatérale, Köhler semble par ailleurs insinuer que l'écrivain ne saurait être, au XIIe siècle, que le valet des princes (Chrétien de Troyes) ou le poursuiveur des honneurs féodaux (les troubadours). Or, dès cette époque, l'écrivain n'est plus réduit à cette alternative: du fait qu'il sait écrire, sa position est symboliquement située au sommet d'une hiérarchie qui dépasse celle de l'aristocratie, puisqu'elle trouve son origine dans le champ religieux dont elle est issue, mais envers lequel le geste de rupture est éclatant: Guillaume IX, le premier troubadour, est un séducteur et un batailleur incorrigible; plusieurs fois excommunié, il représente ce que l'on pourrait appeler la pointe extrême de la "libre pensée" médiévale, étant bien entendu que cette libre pensée ne saurait être un athéisme au sens moderne du terme. Denis de Rougemont avait sans doute tort de voir un lien direct entre la poésie amoureuse du pays occitan et l'hérésie cathare,[87] il n'empêche que la coïncidence de ces mouvements dans les mêmes régions n'est sans doute pas fortuite: axiologiquement opposés, poésie des troubadours et catharisme représentent deux modes d'émancipation des contraintes de l'orthodoxie religieuse qui ont grandement

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[83] Voir Erich Köhler, *Trobadorlyrik und höfischer Roman*. Berlin: Rütten und Loening, 1962. Print.

[84] Voir Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d'errances du chevalier médiéval. Aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du Moyen Âge flamboyant*. Leiden: Brill, 1988. Print.

[85] Voir Johan Huizinga, *L'Automne du Moyen Âge [1919],* trad. du néerlandais par J. Bastin, avec un entretien de Jacques Le Goff, Paris, Payot, 1975. Print.

[86] Chapelain, au XVIIe siècle, avait bien compris que le Don Quichotte ne raillait pas tant le genre chevaleresque en soi que ses dérivés abâtardis du XVIe siècle (voir Jean Chapelain, *La lecture des vieux romans*, rééd. par Fabienne Gégou, avec la *Lettre-traité* de Pierre-Daniel Huet sur l'origine des romans, Paris, Nizet, 1971. Print.)

[87] Denis de Rougemont, *L'Amour et l'Occident*. 1er. ed. [1939]. Paris: Plon, 1972. Print.

contribué à faire du XIIᵉ siècle un siècle de pluralisme heureux, opposé en cela au XIIIᵉ qui a, au contraire, vu le véritable début d'une réaction qui devait mener à l'instauration de l'Inquisition et à un restriction drastique des libertés individuelles. On ne saurait trop insister ici sur les conséquences du quatrième concile de Latran (1215) qui, en obligeant à la confession auriculaire annuelle, amorce ce contrôle que l'Église catholique a voulu s'arroger, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, sur les âmes.

Rappelons enfin, pour en terminer avec le XIIᵉ siècle, que les auteurs de cette époque se pensent volontiers dans une dynamique de progrès, dont témoignent aussi bien des écrivains latins, tel Bernard de Chartres avec sa célébrissime formule des "nains sur les épaules des géants" ("mais ainsi juchés, poursuit-il, nous voyons plus loin qu'eux"), et des écrivains vernaculaires, telle Marie de France dans le prologue, fameux lui aussi, de ses Lais, où elle prétend que les Anciens écrivaient de manière obscure afin que les Modernes puissent "gloser la lettre / et de leur sen [sens, sagesse, compréhension] le surplus mettre" (de France v.15-16).[88] C'était régler d'une phrase une querelle qui, à la charnière des XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles, était encore loin d'être vidée!

Quant au champ des possibles littéraires français à la fin du XIIᵉ siècle, on le considère souvent comme délimité par une célèbre déclaration que l'Arrageois Jean Bodel inscrit au début de sa chanson de geste des Saisnes (c'est-à-dire des Saxons: récit enjolivé des guerres de Charlemagne en Saxe), texte que l'on peut dater à peu de choses près de l'année 1200:

> Ne sont que trois materes a nul home
> vivant:
> De France et de Bretaigne et de Rome la
> Grant;
> Ne de ces trois materes n'i a nule
> semblant.
> Li conte de Bretaigne si sont vain et
> plaisant,
> Et cil de Rome sage et de sens aprendant,
> Cil de France sont voir chascun jour
> aparant (Bodel 6-11)

(Il n'y a que trois matières pour tout le monde: celle de France, celle de Bretagne et celle de Rome la grande; et entre ces trois matières il n'y a aucun point commun. Les contes de Bretagne sont vides de sens et plaisants; ceux de Rome sont plein de sagesse et contiennent de grandes leçons; ceux de France sont authentiques, comme on peut le constater chaque jour) (notre traduction).

Classification axiologique, à l'évidence: les récits arthuriens ne sont que pur divertissement, les adaptations de la littérature antique, sont (Marie de France le disait déjà) pleines de sens plus ou moins cachés, et les chansons de geste sont l'histoire même, ce qui leur confère la plus haute dignité. Mais cette tripartition doit-elle prise au sérieux? Outre que la 'matière' placée au sommet de cette hiérarchie est, comme par hasard, celle où s'inscrit le texte ainsi introduit, on croit savoir qu'en 1200 des formes comme le fabliau, le théâtre profane, la poésie lyrique non amoureuse ont fait leur apparition. Or, l'un des plus sinon le plus ancien auteur attesté dans ces trois genres émergents n'est autre que... Jean Bodel lui-même! Et ce n'est nullement un hasard si Jena Bodel est un Arrageois. Dans les premières années du XIIIᵉ siècle, en effet, les villes de la Flandre et de la Picardie connaissent un essor économique extraordinaire. Or, dans les mêmes années, les rois Anglais perdent la quasi totalité de leurs possessions continentales, ce qui a pour effet, si l'on ose dire, de décapiter les centres de la culture littéraire française: les villes et les cours du Nord sont ainsi toutes désignées pour prendre le relais; si au XIIᵉ siècle la dialecte anglo-normand était

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[88] Marie de France, *Prologue des Lais*. v. 15-16. Ces vers ont donné lieu à de multiples interprétations. Nous n'en donnons ici que la lecture la plus courante.

celui des principales créations littéraires, ce sera, au siècle suivant, le picard qui aura l'honneur d'informer majoritairement la langue littéraire. Dans les deux cas, la grande laissée pour compte de la littérature aura été Paris; de fait, les rois de France, du belliqueux Philippe Auguste à l'administratif Philippe le Bel, en passant par le pieux Saint Louis, semblent avoir autre chose à faire que de promouvoir la littérature. Malgré cela, le XIIIᵉ siècle sera la seule période antérieure au XVIIᵉ siècle où la ville de Paris brillera d'un certain éclat littéraire, éclat modeste en comparaison de celui de l'aire picardo-flamande, mais d'une importance capitale eu égard au sujet qui nous occupe ici.

Bien sûr, la littérature du Nord de la France n'est pas d'un seul bloc au XIIIᵉ siècle; elle est même beaucoup plus éparpillée que celle du siècle précédent et on peut soutenir que la littérature parisienne appartient jusqu'à un certain point à son orbite: c'est en fin de compte la présence de son Université, comme nous le verrons, qui marque la différence essentielle. Mais le Nord est lui-même profondément divisé entre milieux curiaux et milieux urbains, et les quelques cours (Flandres, Hainaut, Brabant) qui tentent de reprendre, avec des fortunes diverses, le flambeau du mécénat dont les Plantagenêt avaient fourni, au XIIᵉ siècle, le brillant exemple, diffèrent plus de la sociabilité qui se développe dans les centre urbains, et en particulier à Arras, que celle-ci ne se distingue du milieu parisien.

Nous serons bref sur la littérature arrageoise, car celle-ci a fait l'objet de nombreuses études. Il faut dire que nous disposons à propos de cette ville d'un document inestimable qui nous permet de reconstituer à la fois son évolution littéraire et son expansion économique avec une précision telle que l'on pourrait même tenter d'utiliser pour les modéliser l'outil statistique, généralement réputé inopérant pour des périodes aussi anciennes. Ce document, c'est le Nécrologe des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras,[89] qui couvre la totalité du XIIIᵉ siècle et dont l'intitulé seul nous dit déjà, par l'étonnant amalgame qu'il nous propose, l'éminente dignité acquise par l'écrivain dans ce milieu qui est alors l'un des plus riches de l'Occident. La marge de liberté dont jouissent les auteurs arrageois peut se mesurer à la lecture du Jeu de la Feuillée (probablement représenté en 1276) d'Adam de la Halle, l'auteur le plus illustre de cette véritable école poétique; le Nécrologe nous permet en effet de vérifier que les personages actifs ou simplement cités dans le texte correspondent bien à ceux de bourgeois arrageois du temps: jouaient-ils leurs propre rôle comme certains l'ont suggéré? Il faudrait pour cela qu'ils aient été armés d'un solide sens de l'auto-dérision, mais on peut toujours rêver... L'important est de constater que la critique sociale semble se donner librement cours dans cette pièce, quoiqu'elle ne semble pas le but essentiel de l'auteur, lequel s'est représenté dans le personnage principal sous les traits d'un déclassé, d'un clerc qui, pour échapper à l'étouffant ennui de la province, retourne aux études à Paris, mais doit, pour se faire abandonner celle qu'il avait épousée:

> J'ai esté avoec feme, or revois au
> clergiet:
> [...]
> Or ne porront pas dire aucun que j'ai
> antés.
> Que d'aler a Paris soie pour nient vantés (Halle 2,5-6).

(J'ai été marié, je reviens maintenant à la clergie. [...] Ainsi, aucune de mes connaissances ne pourra insinuer que je me suis vanté inconsidérément de vouloir aller à Paris) (Halle, "Le Jeu de la Feuillée" [notre traduction]).

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[89]*Le Nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194-1361)*, éd. par R. Berger, Arras, Mémoires de la Commission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 2. t., 1963/1970.

Ce chef d'œuvre dui théâtre médiéval peut être considéré comme la production la plus emblématique de la littérature arrageoise du XIIIᵉ siècle, dans la mesure où il thématise l'impasse d'une pratique faite par et pour des bourgeois et qui ne parvient généralement qu'à perpétuer des modèles courtois (tels la chanson d'amour ou le dialogue poétique, dit "jeu-parti") ou à ironiser sur un vie citadine finalement assez routinière, et pour tout dire "provinciale" (c'est clairement ce que sous-entend le texte que nous venons de citer, et ceux qui crieront à l'anachronisme n'y changeront rien). De fait, le mécénat bourgeois n'aura eu qu'un temps à Arras: avec la crise économique qui ébranle les marchés du Nord de la France et de la Lombardie à la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle, préludant aux catastrophes du siècle suivant, la veine qui a fait la fortune (littéraire!) de Jean Bodel et d'Adam de la Halle se tarit sans que les rapports de l'écrivain et de son public aient fondamentalement changé. Seul, en fin de compte, Adam de la Halle semble avoir entrevu, dans *Le Jeu de la Feuillée*, la possibilité que l'écrivain puisse se dégager de toute tutelle et devenir son propre maître; et ce n'est évidemment pas un hasard si la référence parisienne est si présente dans la pièce!

La vraie littérature parisienne, a-t-on envie de dire, c'est la littérature latine: centre incontesté des études théologiques jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge, Paris est la ville où la plupart des philosophes d'importance des XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècle ont écrit tout ou partie de leur œuvre. A côté de ces monuments, la littérature en langue vulgaire est chétive; elle n'émerge d'ailleurs que vers 1200 en reprenant les thèmes joyeux qui se développent au même moment à Arras, en particulier celui de la taverne. Dans son drolatique *Songe d'enfer*, Raoul de Houdenc nous décrit une route semée de cabarets et aboutissants dans une géhenne point trop sérieuses où les diables font assaut d'inventivité culinaire pour assaisonner les damnés. Vers 1223, un auteur que l'on peut dire emblématique de ce milieu, Henri d'Andeli, écrit une spirituelle *Bataille des vins* dont l'arbitre n'est autre que le roi proverbialement bon vivant Philippe Auguste. Le même auteur écrit, probablement vers 1230 une autre *Bataille*, celle dite un peu improprement *des Sept Arts*, qui raconte la lutte des clercs orléanais, "reactionnnaires," attachés aux auteurs antiques et donc à une conception "humaniste" du savoir typique du XIIᵉ siècle contre les sectateurs "avant-gardistes" parisiens d'Aristote, maîtres de la logique et promoteurs de la scolastique. Le ton est, ici encore, burlesque, mais la querelle fut fort sérieuse: la victoire, dans la réalité comme dans ce petit fabliau, de la scolastique parisienne déterminera pour plus de deux siècles l'orientation du savoir européen et sonnera le début de ce qu'Etienne Gilson, dans sa classique *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* appelle "l'exil des belles-lettres." Henri d'Andeli est encore l'auteur, en 1237, du *Dit du Chancelier Philippe*, éloge funèbre d'un des principaux acteurs de l'Université parisienne à ses tout débuts, personnage qui commença par s'opposer à l'extension des collèges philosophiques, puis, vers la fin de sa vie, se convertit à l'aristotélisme. Signalons entre parenthèses que *Le Lai d'Aristote*, naguère encore principal titre de gloire d'Henri d'Andeli, n'est pas de cet auteur, mais plus vraisemblablement d'Henri de Valenciennes. Cette réattribution peut sembler de prime abord insignifiante; elle nous offre pourtant une leçon de prudence qu'il convient de garder à l'esprit lorsque l'on cherche à interpréter l'idéologie des textes de cette époque; en effet, attribué à un clerc parisien, ce célèbre petit récit de la mésaventure d'un Aristote séduit et chevauché par la maîtresse d'Alexandre, laquelle voulait lui apprendre à se mêler de ce qui le regardait (car Aristote avait blâmé les amours de son royal élève) entre tout naturellement dans le champ des incessantes querelles universitaires du XIIIᵉ siècle. Replacé à la cour de Hainaut, il n'est plus qu'un charmant apologue sur les pouvoirs de l'amour. Certes, la mise en scène d'Aristote n'est pas insignifiante et nous rappelle qu'à l'époque de l'écriture du texte (sans doute vers 1215) le Stagirite est en passe de devenir une référence incontournable en matière de savoir; et certes, aussi courtois qu'il soit, *Le Lai d'Aristote* n'est pas sans se rattacher quelque peu à une littérature que l'on dira typiquement cléricale, en ce qu'elle joue sur un certain nombre de motifs privilégiés parmi lesquels celui de l'intellectuel ridiculisé occupe une place importante: que l'on songe à Thalès tombant dans un puits, à Virgile coincé nuitamment dans une corbeille censée le mener à la fenêtre d'une courtisane, à Abélard, voire à Merlin à qui l'amour

de Viviane sera fatal; tous ces récits sont bien attestés dans les littératures latine et vernaculaires des XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles.

Revenons à Henri d'Andeli; on peut se poser la question de ses commanditaires: fut-il payé par l'Université? protégé par Philippe Le Chancelier? ou vendait-il tout simplement ses services au plus offrant? La réponse n'est pas évidente. Et le même problème se pose à nouveau à la génération suivante avec un poète qui est au Paris du XIIIᵉ siècle ce qu'Adam de la Halle est à l'Arras de la même époque: Rutebeuf.[90]

Comme le rappelle Bourdieu, "il serait vain de chercher le garant ou la garantie ultime de cette monnaie fiduciaire qu'est le pouvoir de consécration en dehors du réseau des relations d'échange à travers lequel elle se produit et circule à la fois, c'est-à-dire dans une sorte de banque centrale qui serait le caution ultime de tous les actes de crédit" (377). Or, si "ce rôle de banque centrale a été tenu, jusqu'au milieu du XIXᵉ siècle, par l'Académie," celle-ci ne se l'est elle-même arrogé, au moment de sa fondation deux siècles plus tôt, que parce qu'une autre instance, qui aurait dû assumer ce rôle, ne l'assumait plus. Et cette instance, ce n'est autre que l'Université. A-t-elle jamais tenu ce rôle? nous demandera-t-on. Notre thèse ici est que, même si elle ne l'a sans doute jamais rempli à la façon dont l'Académie y a réussi deux siècles durant, elle n'a jamais été aussi près de le tenir que dans les premiers temps de son existence, c'est-à-dire au XIIIᵉ siècle.

L'exemple de Rutebeuf nous montre bien, jusqu'aux obscurités dont s'entoure sa biographie, que l'Université ne saurait suffire à assurer la subsistance d'un poète; sans doute lui fournit-elle ponctuellement du travail, mais l'insistance avec laquelle Rutebeuf revendique la nécessité de ses prises de parole n'est sans doute pas entièrement rhétorique. N'a-t-il soutenu Guillaume de Saint-Amour que parce que celui-ci le payait plus grassement que le parti adverse? Les preuves décisives, avouons-le, manquent pour réfuter cette solution de manière certaine, mais on admettra que la vraisemblance ne parle pas en sa faveur. Plus exactement, on postulera qu'une institution aussi polymorphe et divisée que l'Université n'avait sans doute ni les moyens, ni le désir de se lancer dans le mécénat. Par ailleurs, il est vrai—et c'est, si l'on suit l'hypothèse de Michel-Marie Dufeil reprise par Michel Zink, la leçon qui se dégage des poèmes "de l'infortune"—les poètes n'avaient pas davantage les moyens de se lancer dans une carrière auto-subventionnée. Il n'empêche que Rutebeuf, à la fois par la liberté idéologique qu'il s'autorise et par sa claire conscience de son rôle d'empêcheur d'étudier en rond, représente la pointe extrême, non à proprement parler de l'autonomisation du champ littéraire médiéval, mais de sa tentative, voire de sa tentation.

Les intellectuels du début du XVᵉ siècle, en particulier Alain Chartier et Christine de Pizan, joueront un rôle capital dans la prise de conscience nationale de la France aux heures les plus noires de la Guerre de Cent Ans; par leur courage et leur franc-parler, faisant la leçon à leur souverains, ils ressemblent déjà beaucoup aux intellectuels du XVIIIᵉ siècle qui braveront la censure pour dire ce qui leur semblera être la vérité aux élites de leur temps; ils restent toutefois des clercs de cour et l'autonomie de leur parole reste liée à un impératif moral somme toute inhérent au milieu qui les fait vivre. Ce que nous voyons avec Henri d'Andeli et plus encore avec Rutebeuf est, de ce point de vue, fort différent et, si l'on ose dire, plus moderne. Alors que l'idéal de Christine de Pizan et d'Alain Chartier est d'être la conscience éclairée du pouvoir, en quelques sorte les Aristote de leurs indignes souverains, celui de Rutebeuf vise à une liberté de parole plus fondamentale: celle qui, dépassant les instances normatives en vigueur, tente de fonder la critique de la société sur la conscience qu'a le poète de sa propre dignité. L'on se permettra de donner ici un sens très fort au fameux "je ne suis ouvrier des mains" de Rutebeuf: professionnel des mots et non plus de la plume, ce dernier s'est voulu son propre maître, mais n'a pourtant, selon toute vraisemblance, pas

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[90] Le maître livre sur Rutebeuf reste celui de Nancy Freeman-Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A Study in Noncurtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1970. Print.

soutenu cette pose pendant très longtemps. Si, encore une fois, les preuves objectives lui manquent, l'hypothèse de Dufeil-Zink a au moins pour elle une vraisemblance qui ne fait pas violence au contexte socio-économique dans lequel a vécu Rutebeuf.

Car sa tentative était vouée à l'échec; la société n'était pas prête à accueillir en son sein ce type de personnage autrement que sous la forme de celui que Bronislaw Geremek a appelé, dans un livre fameux, le 'marginal,' fatalement happé par la spirale de la délinquance et voué à une disparition rapide (à moins que le monastère ne le récupère).[91] Rappelons d'ailleurs—est-il besoin de citer Foucault?—que le Moyen Âge n'enfermait pas plus ses criminels que ses fous: il pendait les premiers et laissait errer les seconds. Affirmation de dandy à la fin du XIXe siècle, l'identité de l'artiste avec le fou et le criminel n'aura été que la dure réalité de l'écrivain "libre" de l'époque médiévale; Villon est sans aucun doute le plus célèbre de ces génies déclassés,[92] mais le romantisme ne trouve guère son compte lorsque ses métaphores doivent être prises à la lettre. Ainsi ne s'étonnera-t-on pas de découvrir fort peu de candidats à l'indépendance économique parmi les poètes médiévaux.[93] À quoi il faut ajouter que la possibilité même de penser cette indépendance n'a pas été offerte à toutes les époques et dans tous les milieux qu'a connus le Moyen Âge. La cour, la sphère du pouvoir religieux et même la grande bourgeoisie offraient des moules de pensées et de comportements qui, s'ils n'ont pas forcément bridé l'imagination des auteurs, les a du moins empêché de réclamer une liberté de pensée dont, pour la plupart, ils n'avaient que faire, soit que les cadres qui leur étaient imposés leur aient convenus, soit qu'ils aient trouvé leur bonheur dans une pratique purement auto-référentielle de la littérature; c'est là sans doute leur trouver une autre raison d'être "modernes" et de nous fasciner, mais nous sortons ici de ce qui est accessible à la sociologie de la littérature.

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[91] On songe à Huysmans sommé de choisir entre "la bouche d'un revolver et les pieds de la Croix" (cité par Huysmans dans sa préface à la réédition de *A Rebours*).

[92] Encore qu'il se soit trouvé des exégètes pour soutenir que la marginalité de Villon n'était qu'une pose; mais c'est pour le coup que l'on peut vraiment parler d'anachronisme et de romantisme intempestif.

[93] On peut aussi penser au poète et compositeur Jeannot de l'Escurel sur qui notre seul renseignement certain est qu'il est mort pendu pour viol au tout début du XIVe siècle.

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De la civilisation occidentale à son propre "ailleurs" dans *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique*, de Michel Tournier

(From Western Civilization to Its 'Elsewheres' in Michel Tournier's *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique*)

Abstract: The aim of the present article is to show another type of reading the history of Robinson as it appears in Michel Tournier's novels. I also have the intention of emphasizing the main orientation of Michel Tournier's literature, which is to re-write very well-known stories or myths from another perspective. This may be the reason why many critics consider him a re-inventor of the primitive myths. A comparison with Daniel Defoe's novel allowed me to notice the main changes made by Tournier, among which I have observed the repositioning of the relationship master-servant, a totally different evolution of the character Robinson, and, mostly, the permanent search of a new identity. But the main character seems to be the island considered a symbol of happiness and freedom. Thus, the writer invites us to look for and discover the other island, seen as a symbol of a civilization created by Robinson, a civilization in which the so-called values of the western civilization do not find their place anymore.

Keywords: Robinson, Tournier, Defoe, new identity, western civilization

> **Motto:** Le mythe se rapporte toujours à des événements passés "avant la création du monde," ou "pendant les premiers âges." Mais la valeur intrinsèque du mythe provient de ce que les événements […] forment aussi une structure permanente. Celle-ci se rapporte simultanément au passé, au présent et au futur (Lévi-Strauss, 231).

Le mythe joue un rôle primordial dans l'oeuvre de Michel Tournier. Dans tous ses romans, il reprend des mythes anciens qu'il réécrit. A ce propos, il écrit dans l'autobiographie intelectuelle intitulée *Le Vent Paraclet*:

> Les mythes—comme tout ce qui vit—ont besoin d'être irrigués et renouvelés sans peine de mort. Un mythe mort, cela s'appelle une allégorie. La fonction de l'écrivain est d'empêcher les mythes de devenir des allegories. […] L'oeuvre vivante et proliférante, devenue mythe actif au coeur de chaque homme, refoule son auteur dans l'anonymat et l'oubli. (Tournier, *Le Vent* 193)

> Pour lui, le langage du mythe n'est pas périmé. Il peut encore faire 'tressaillir en nous une âme puérile et archaïque qui comprend la fable comme sa langue maternelle et comme l'écho de ses origines premières" note Arlette Bouloumié. (26).

Dans *Vendredi ou Les limbes du Pacifique*, Tournier reprend l'histoire du naufrage de Robinson. Certes, le roman de Daniel Defoe *Robinson Crusoe* lui a servi de modèle.

L'action du roman est simple et, jusqu'à un certain moment, identique à celle du roman de Defoe. Le 29 septembre 1759, le bateau *Virginie* se brise contre un écueil à cause d'une tempête au large des côtes

chiliennes. Robinson se réveille sur la grève d'une île déserte qu'il va baptiser d'abord *l'île de la Désolation* et beaucoup plus tard *Speranza*. Il se rend compte qu'il est le seul survivant du naufrage. Son premier et seul désir est de quitter le plus vite possible cette île déserte. Il se lance dans la construction d'une embarcation mais c'est l'échec: le bateau ne peut pas être mis à l'eau. Sous l'emprise du désespoir, il préfère vivre comme un animal. Un jour, il prend conscience de son état et décide d'organiser sa vie sur cette île déserte. Comme un véritable colon, il commence à mesurer le temps, il défriche, sème, cultive, fait de l'élevage, construit une maison, réglemente la vie administrative et législative de l'île. Mais la solitude lui pèse jusqu'au jour où, involontairement, il sauve un fuyard, un métis, qu'il baptise Vendredi. Au début, les rapports sont maître-esclave. A la longue, ces rapports deviennent des rapports d'égalité. Leur vie commune, faite d'harmonie et de joies simples prend fin le jour où le *Whitebird*, un bateau britannique, arrive et son équipage débarque sur l'île. Vingt-huit ans s'étaient écoulés depuis le naufrage de la *Virginie*. Le spectacle de vandalisme, de violence et de rapacité offert par ses semblables civilisés lui fait prendre une décision surprenante: il veut rester sur l'île, il ne veut plus retourner au sein de la civilisation occidentale. Vendredi part avec le bateau, mais Jeudi, le métis qui travaillait sur *Whitebird* prend sa place. Robinson se sent victorieux.

Le roman commence par un refus et finit par un refus. Entre les deux, une période de 28 ans d'acceptation de son statut de naufragé et d'une métamorphose graduelle qui se manifestent dans tout le comportement de Robinson.

Sa métamorphose passe par plusieurs étapes, la première étant celle de la *souille*, du désespoir, de la régression, du passage de son statut d'être humain à celui d'animal. Puis, il veut fuir l'île, "où il n'y avait pas la moindre trace humaine" (*Vendredi* 17), en construisant une embarcation dont le nom suggestif est l'*Evasion*. Ce bateau représente pour lui le moyen de réintégrer physiquement et moralement la communauté humaine. Lors de sa construction, les éléments de la civilisation occidentale lui manquent: des vis, une scie, des clous, un marteau, et cetera. Cela l'oblige à chercher et à découvrir d'autres solutions. Malheureusement, son entreprise est vouée à l'échec et il se voit obligé d'accepter sa condition de naufragé. A partir de ce moment, il commence à construire son propre "ailleurs," c'est-à-dire une civilisation sur cette île déserte. Par sa décision, Robinson retrouve l'homme civilisé qu'il était. Pour y arriver, il met en oeuvre ses souvenirs d'enfance, son expérience et son esprit d'initiative, car "Seul le passé avait une existence et une valeur notables. Le présent ne valait que comme source de souvenir, fabrique de passé. Il n'importait de vivre que pour augmenter ce précieux capital du passé" (*Vendredi* 39). Il reprend en main son destin. Il doit remplir le vide de son existence. Sa vie sur l'île débute avec le recensement des ressources de cette terre et le vidage de la *Virginie*: il "consacra les semaines qui suivirent à l'exploration méthodique de l'île et au recensement de ses ressources" (*Vendredi* 39); "Il établit son dépôt général dans la grotte qui s'ouvrait dans le massif rocheux du centre de l'île. Il y transporta tout ce qu'il put arracher à l'épave, et il ne rejeta rien qui fût transportable, car les objets les moins utilisables gardaient à ses yeux la valeur de reliques de la communauté humaine dont il était exilé" (*Vendredi* 42). Le désir de garder les liens avec la civilisation occidentale le mène "à faire un inventaire de ces objets" (*Vendredi* 44). Mais son cheminement vers la "civilisation" est marqué par la découverte d'un liquide rouge secrété par un poisson et d'une plume de vautour "convenablement taillée": cette découverte lui permet de rentrer "dans le monde de l'esprit en accomplissant cet acte sacré: écrire. [...] Une ère nouvelle débutait pour lui—ou plus précisément sa vraie vie dans l'île (*Vendredi* 44-45).

A partir de ce jour là, les étapes de la construction d'une société civilisée se succèdent et le log-book lui permet de tout noter. Il consacre plusieurs jours à dresser une carte de l'île. Ensuite, il passe à l'agriculture: "Il s'interdit de consommer la moindre parcelle du blé sauvé de la Virginie. Il voulait le semer, car il attachait un prix infini au pain, symbole de vie et qui le reliait encore "à la communauté Humaine" *Vendredi* 46). Mais il pense au jour où il se fera une fête "de ce premier pain qui sortirait de la terre de *Speranza*, de mon four, de mes mains" (*Vendredi* 60). Ce pain sera pour lui le symbole d'une réalisation

personnelle, d'une victoire dans sa lutte avec cette île déserte, du commencement d'une vie civilisée. Pour faire les semailles, il doit brûler quelques acres de prairies et labourer la terre. Son esprit inventif l'aide à fabriquer une houe d'une plaque de fer provenant de la *Virginie* "dans laquelle il avait pu percer un trou assez large pour y introduire une manche" (*Vendredi* 46). Le résultat de son premier travail d'agriculteur n'est pas tout à fait satisfaisant, car le maïs dépérit complètement. En revanche, l'orge et le blé ont prospéré. Venu d'une société où tout est mesuré et rationalisé, il se fait une règle à suivre sans aucune exception: "toute production est création et donc bonne. Toute consommation est destruction, et donc mauvaise" (*Vendredi* 61). Il a une vision très stricte du rapport accumulation / consommation. Raison pour laquelle il gère avec avarice sa première récolte, en se privant du plaisir élémentaire de se faire du pain.

Il va encore plus loin dans ses efforts d'organiser sa vie sur l'île. Il commence à s'occuper de l'élevage. Pour cela, il se sert d'une astuce: "Il construit […] un enclos […]. Il y enferma des chevreaux très jeunes qui y attirèrent leurs mères par leurs cris. Il avait créé ainsi un début de cheptel dans l'île après avoir ensemencé sa terre. Comme l'humanité de jadis, il était passé du stade de la cueillette et de la chasse à celui de l'agriculture et de l'élevage" (*Vendredi* 47).

Chaque jour le spectre de ses préoccupations s'élargit et acquiert d'autres dimensions:

> Il défricha et ensemença des hectares entiers de prairies et de forêts, repiqua tout un champ de navets, de raves et d'oseille […] protégea contre les oiseaux et les insectes des plantations de palmiers à choux, installa vingt ruches que les premières abeilles commencèrent à coloniser, creusa au bord du littoral des viviers d'eau douce et d'eau de la mer dans lesquels il élevait des brèmes, des anges de mer, des cavaliers et même des écrevisses de mer. Il constitua d'énormes provisions de fruits secs, de viande fumée, de poissons salés, et de petits fromages. […] Il découvrit enfin un procédé pour produire une sorte de sucre… (*Vendredi* 63). Tout comme ses compatriotes, il finit par accumuler plus qu'il ne consommait. Malgré tout, il se sent encore loin de cette vie parfaite où chaque geste serait commandé par une loi d'économie et d'harmonie. (*Vendredi* 58).

Une autre valeur de la société occidentale à laquelle il est encore attaché c'est l'argent. Dans son logbook, il écrit: "Je mesure aujourd'hui la folie et la méchanceté de ceux qui calomnient cette institution divine: l'argent! L'argent spiritualise tout ce qu'il touche en lui apportant une dimension à la fois rationnelle—mesurable—et universelle—puisqu'un bien monnayé devient virtuellement accessible à tous les hommes" (*Vendredi* 61-62).

Il va changer d'avis sans même s'en rendre compte.

Le retour du chien Tenn joue un rôle important dans la nouvelle vie de Robinson: animal domestique, il incite son maître à construire une maison, "à laquelle il attribue une fonction morale plutôt que capitale. Peu à peu cette maison devient pour lui comme une sorte de *musée de l'humain*, où il ne pénétrait qu'en habit, haut de chausses, bas et souliers, comme s'il rendait visite à ce qu'il y avait de meilleur en lui-même" (*Vendredi* 66). Cette maison lui rappelle les obligations que celle-ci inculque à son habitant: une tenue correcte, des repas réguliers, un respect de la propreté. Peu à peu, Robinson reprend les bonnes habitudes qu'il avait autrefois.

Et son travail frénétique ne s'arrête pas. Il construit une ville fortifiée, dont il est le gouverneur. En cas d'attaque, il aurait besoin de ces fortifications. C'est un autre type d'activité, militaire cette fois-ci: "Devant sa villa résidentielle et les bâtiments du pavillon des Poids et Mesures, du palais de Justice et du Temple se dressait maintenant une enceinte crénelée avec le déblai d'un fossé […] qui courait d'une paroi à l'autre de la grotte en un vaste demicercle. […] en cas d'attaque, il aurait eu besoin de ces fortifycations (*Vendredi* 78).

Il organise la vie administrative et législative de l'île en écrivant "la *Charte de l'île Speranza commencée le 1000ᵉ jour du calendrier local*" (et "*le Code pénal de l'île Speranza commencé le 1000ᵉ jour du calendrier local*" (*Vendredi* 71-72).

L'île transformée et administrée devient l'un des éléments qui contribuent à la naissance d'un nouvel être: "Ainsi, pour Robinson, l'organisation frénétique de l'île allait de pair avec le libre et d'abord timide épanouissement de tendances à demi inconscientes. Et il semblait bien en effet que tout cet échafaudage artificiel et extérieur—branlant, mais sans cesse fiévreusement perfectionné—n'avait pour raison d'être que de protéger la formation d'un homme nouveau qui ne serait viable que plus tard" (*Vendredi* 82).

Il prend conscience de la métamorphose qu'il a subie et des progrès qu'il a faits depuis le jour où le sort l'a jeté sur cette île déserte, loin de toute civilisation: "Indiscutablement, il venait de gravir un degré dans la métamorphose qui travaillait le plus secret de lui-même" (*Vendredi* 94); "Ayant pris conscience de la métamorphose où il était engagé, il était prêt maintenant à s'imposer les plus rudes conversions pour répondre à ce qui était peut-être une vocation nouvelle" (*Vendredi* 102).

Cela ne l'empêche pas de méditer sur son effort de construire cette île selon le modèle de la civilisation d'où il vient mais il se rend compte que son effort est à double tranchant ou, un effort qui va "en des sens opposés": à la surface de l'île, il continue son "oeuvre de civilisation—cultures, élevages, édifices, administration, lois, etc.;—copiée à la société humaine" (*Vendredi* 116), tandis que lui, il trouve en lui "des solutions qui ressemblent de moins en moins au modèle humain dont elles étaient parties" (*Vendredi* 116-117).

Malgré sa toute-puissance sur "son domaine," la justification de ces efforts n'existe pas sans la présence d'autrui, qui lui semble à ce moment nécessaire, voire obligatoire. Par conséquent, "La vanité de toute son oeuvre lui apparut d'un coup accablante, indiscutable. Inutiles ses cultures, absurdes ses élevages, ses dépôts une insulte au bon sens, ses silos une dérision et cette forteresse, cette Charte, ce Code pénal? Pour nourrir qui? pour protéger qui? chacun de ses gestes, chacun de ses travaux était un appel lancé vers quelqu'un et demeurait sans réponse" (*Vendredi* 124).

Il aura une réponse le jour où il sauve involontairement la vie d'un métis. Une autre préoccupation s'impose à son esprit: lui trouver un nom. Malgré les longues années passées loin de la civilisation occidentale, Robinson n'a pas pu échapper à certains préjugés. Ce qui explique son hésitation: "Je ne voulais pas lui donner un nom chrétien avant qu'il ait mérité cette dignité. Un sauvage n'est pas un être humain à part entière" (*Vendredi* 147). Ses préjugés traduisent celles de toute une époque. Il lui donne le nom du jour où il l'a trouvé et pas sauvé—Vendredi—et le rapport maître-esclave s'installe, car: "Depuis, Vendredi appartient corps et âme à l'homme blanc" (*Vendredi* 148). Vendredi sera incorporé au système perfectionné de Robinson de transformer la société rudimentaire et primitive en une société moderne. Bientôt, Vendredi sait "défricher, labourer, semer, herser, repiquer, sarcler, faucher, moissonner, battre, moudre, bluter, pétrir et cuire" (*Vendredi* 148). Robinson peut même le payer, grâce à l'or trouvé sur l'épave. Pour Vendredi, les pièces d'or qu'il reçoit de son maître n'ont qu'une valeur matérielle, car elles lui permettent d'acheter "de la nourriture en supplément, des menus objets d'usage […] ou tout simplement une demi-journée de repos qu'il passe dans un hamac de sa confection" (*Vendredi* 150).

Peu à peu, leur relation change. Robinson renonce à un attribut de la civilisation occidentale—le racisme—et commence à considérer Vendredi comme son égal. La présence du métis est bénéfique pour Robinson, car Vendredi lui apprend à accepter la nature telle qu'elle est, le respect d'autrui et de sa différence. Il se forme aussi une autre conception de vivre: l'acceptation d'autrui et de ses plaisirs et l'absence d'inquiétude métaphysique. Si dans la civilisation occidentale l'homme est tributaire de ses semblables, sur son île, Robinson peut être lui-même. Plus de règles et des convenances à respecter, plus de préjugés, plus de mentalités préconçues. L'homme peut jouir d'une liberté totale de penser et d'agir à son gré. Il ne doit plus faire le jeu de la société, il ne doit plus être ce que les autres veulent faire de lui. Sur son île, le rapport être / paraître change, le premier l'emporte sur le dernier. Sur cette île déserte, il a appris "à se plier docilement aux exigences du milieu qu'il voulait conquérir" (*Vendredi* 102).

L'arrivée de la goélette britannique *Whitebird* met fin à son retour "à l'âge d'or de l'humanité" et le remet en contact avec la société occidentale. Ce contact le rend conscient de la rupture que les vingt-huit

ans passés sur l'île a provoquée entre lui et le monde civilisée. En écoutant et en regardant le comportement de l'équipage, Robinson se rend compte qu'il a coupé les ponts avec toutes les valeurs qui servent de références à ses compatriotes. En construisant une autre société sur cette île déserte, sans s'en rendre compte, il avait construit un autre système de valeurs matérielles et morales.

Tout d'abord, il se sent indifférent à l'esprit de conquête et d'aventure qui anime le commandant. Il écoute "d'une oreille distraite" ses histoires sur la guerre des insurgents américains, il ne manifeste aucun intérêt pour les dernières améliorations techniques dans la navigation, il ne manifeste aucun enthousiasme pour les profits traingulaires.

Puis, il n'a plus l'instinct de propriété: il observe avec détachement "son île" pillée et saccagée par cette bande de "brutes déchaînés":

> Robinson pensait [...] aux souffrances qu'il aurait endurées, à l'époque où il entretenait l'île comme une cité-jardin, de la voir livrée ainsi à cette bande fruste et avide. Car si le spectacle de ces brutes déchaînées accaparait toute son attention, ce n'étaient ni les arbres stupidement mutilés ni les bêtes massacrées au hasard qui le retenaient, c'était le comportement de ces hommes, *ses semblables*[...]. (*Vendredi* 237).

Il ressent de plus en plus son "étrangeté" par rapport à ses semblables. Il a la même attitude lorsqu'on s'empare de ses pièces d'or. Il ne pense plus que cet or lui appartient: "Un matelot y trouva coup sur coup deux pièces d'or. Il ameuta aussitôt ses compagnons à grands cris. [...] L'idée effleura à peine Robinson que cet or était à lui" (*Vendredi* 237). En les regardant, il sait qu'il a été des leurs et qu'il ne pourra plus jamais l'être:

> Et Robinson savait qu'il avait été semblable à eux, mû par les mêmes ressorts—la cupidité, l'orgueil, la violence—qu'il était encore des leurs par toute une part de lui-même. Mais en même temps il les voyait avec le détachement d'un entomologiste penché sur une communauté d'insectes, des abeilles ou des fourmis, ou ces rassemblements suspects de cloportes qu'on surprend en soulevant une pierre. (*Vendredi* 238).

Il sort de son indifférence lorsqu'il voit et comprend ce que c'est "autrui": "Chacun de ces hommes était un monde *possible*, assez cohérent, avec ses valeurs..." (*Vendredi* 238); "Et chacun de ces mondes possibles proclamait naïvement sa réalité. C'était cela 'autrui': un possible qui s'acharne à passer pour réel" (*Vendredi* 239). Si la fausseté de la civilisation lui fait peur, "l'irrémédiable relativité des fins qu'il les voyait tous poursuivre fiévreusement" l'effraie, car "ce qu'ils avaient tous en but, c'était telle acquisition, telle richesse, telle satisfaction" qui ne pouvaient mener qu'à une permanente quête effrénée (*Vendredi* 243). Ces fins projettent ses compatriotes vers l'avenir, vers les plaisirs qu'ils envisagent et qui les relancent sans cesse vers une autre quête. C'est comme une machine infernale qui ne s'arrête plus et qui ne laisse plus à l'homme le temps de jouir des valeurs réelles de la vie.

Une idée commence à mûrir dans sa tête: rester sur l'île, loin de la civilisation occidentale. Mentalement, il fait l'inventaire des arguments qui le poussent vers cette décision. En rentrant en Europe, il serait obligé d'accepter une partie des valeurs des autres, de jouer le rôle de l'homme d'expérience, d'organiser sa vie selon les normes imposées par cette civilisation, d'être repris par l'engrenage de sa société, de renoncer à la liberté d'expression et de comportement, d'accepter le vieillissement qu'entraînerait son réinsertion dans le temps officiel, de renoncer à l'esprit d'enfance que Vendredi lui a redonné et qui l'a aidé à arrêter le temps et à vivre dans un éternel présent. A ses yeux, *Speranza* représente la "lumineuse négation du tourbillon de temps dégradant et mortel" dans lequel vit l'homme civilisé: "C'est là qu'il prit conscience de la décision qui mûrissait inexorablement en lui de laisser repartir le *Whitebird* et de demeurer dans l'île avec Vendredi. Plus encore que tout ce qui le séparait des hommes

de ce navire, il y était poussé par son refus panique du tourbillon de temps, dégradant et mortel, qu'ils secrétaient tous autour d'eux et dans lequel ils vivaient" (*Vendredi* 245).

Son refus de rentrer en Europe et de réintégrer la société 'civilisée' s'accompagne d'une demande tout à fait étonnante à nos yeux: ne jamais dévoiler à personne l'existence de son île: "Robinson avait laissé entendre qu'il ne souhaitait pas que l'existence et la position de cette île fussent révélées par l'équipage de Whitebird" (*Vendredi* 247).

Apparemment paradoxal, son choix de rester sur "son île" trouve la justification dans sa nouvelle vision sur la société occidentale: "Il ne peut plus accepter l'idée de vivre dans un monde d'usure, de poussière et de ruines" (*Vendredi* 246).

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Persistenţa flăcărilor

(The Persistence of the Flames)

Abstract: Gellu Naum is a most provocative poet, as he seems to escape any convention and any attempt at classification. Having been the last of the Surrealist poets, he has his own way of being a surrealist. He has repeatedly stated that poetry / Surrealism is not a literary concept, but a way of life, which moves the process of reading out of the realm of art into the realm of reality, reading becomes an investigation into the poet's intimacy, a journey in time. There are few clues that light the ways on this journey—dream, love, liberty, poetry and miracle. Gellu Naum also said that the poet's role is to show the world what love is and so he does. The paper aims to explore the hidden meanings of Gellu Naum's poetry related to the alchemy of love. Gellu Naum's poetry is a magic language which speaks to the being inside man, recuperating its originary centrality and making possible the absolute contact, the absolute knowledge of the world, of the other and of the self, surpassing the differences. Poetry, this miraculous language, transgreses the social and cultural delimitations rendering man its purity. Poetic language places beings face to face in their wholeness, retrieving their unity, without losing their individuality.

Keywords: Gellu Naum, surrealism, alchemy, poetry, dream, liberty

Suprarealismul, calificat drept mişcare cultural-artistică, este un fenomen cu particularităţi unice. Această formă de mişcare, care depăşeşte graniţele estetice, aspirând a reuni visul cu acţiunea şi stabilindu-şi drept scop suprem 'transformarea lumii,' 'schimbarea vieţii,' creează premisele manifestării unor forţe tainice ale lumii, al căror mister suprarealiştii l-au căutat fără încetare, capabile a restitui omului condiţia sa originară. Debutând sub semnul revoltei şi al contestării, suprarealismul declară război convenţiilor şi prejudecăţilor, pornind în căutarea eliberării absolute a omului. Depăşirea dualităţii fundamentale alienante a fiinţei umane şi recuperarea unei unităţi originare mitice prin reconcilierea tuturor antinomiilor reprezintă scopul tuturor demersurilor şi experimentelor suprarealismului. Imersiunea în lumea magică a inconştientului, în labirintul interior al fiinţei, declanşează disponibilitatea în faţa acelor forţe ale universului. Hazardul, manifestare fulgurantă a invizibilului, reprezintă singura lege acceptată, întrucât descifrarea acestuia depăşeşte posibilităţile raţiunii, solicitând facultăţile subtile ale fiinţei umane. Din această perspectivă poezia, înţeleasă ca formă supremă de cunoaştere reală a lumii şi a sinelui, devine o componentă esenţială nu atât a civilizaţiei fondate pe cultură, cât a existenţei celei mai intime a omului. Poezia constituie un limbaj universal, iniţiatic, eliberator prin care se reintră în contact cu lumea. Demersurile colective ale suprarealiştilor dezvăluie încercările acestora de a-şi depăşi individualitatea pentru a cuceri o unitate şi unicitate primordiale. Suprarealismul reprezintă unul dintre cele mai puternice demersuri de cunoaştere a fiinţei umane şi a lumii în integralitatea sa, abolind toate diferenţele şi limitele, recuperând contactul cu sine şi cu celălalt, cu ceea ce este dincolo, atât ca alteritate, cât şi ca transcendent. Fiind cel mai important reprezentant al suprarealismului românesc, Gellu Naum se recunoaşte a fi un 'fanatic al poeziei', pe care o consideră 'un mod de a trăi'. Prin intermediul funcţiei miraculoase poeziei, Gellu Naum creează o alchimie a realului, redescoperind centrul, punctul de miră în care toate antinomiile sunt rezolvate, acolo unde dualitatea există şi nu există în acelaşi timp.

Poezia lui Gellu Naum nu este un act artistic în sensul convențional al termenului, ci o experiență ontologică / existențială. Cunoașterea poetică, trăirea poetică, starea poetică reprezintă fiecare o modalitate de anulare a *practicii separării* (subl.n.), limitative și reductive, printr-o deschidere către mister și miracol. Această percepție poetică se apropie de ceea ce înțelepții alchimiști numesc "a cunoaște interior și exterior proprietatea tuturor lucrurilor" (Evola 38). Se relevă astfel o altă ordine a lumii, în care miracolul își face loc în miezul cotidianului. Această cunoaștere permite depășirea dualității fundamentale a existenței și recuperarea unității originare a lumii. Astfel, primul principiu al înțelepciunii hermetice / alchimice—*unitatea* (subl.n.), se suprapune peste viziunea fundamentală asupra lumii a poetului Gellu Naum. În legătură cu acest principiu al unității J. Evola afirmă în *Tradiția Hermetică*:

> De fapt, aici nu este vorba despre o teorie filozofică (ipoteza reductibilității tuturor lucrurilor la un principiu unic), ci de o stare determinată, datorată unei suspendări a acelei legi a dualității între Eu și non-Eu și între 'înăuntru' și 'în afară' care, exceptând rare momente, domină percepția obișnuită și cea mai recentă a realității. Această stare este secretul a ceea ce în texte poată numele de 'Materia Operei' sau 'Materia primă a Înțelepților', întrucât doar plecând de la această stare este posibil să se 'extragă' și să se 'formeze', 'potrivit ritului' și 'artei', tot ceea ce promite tradiția, fie în plan spiritual, fie în planul aplicării operative (în plan magic) (Evola 39).

Grupajul de poezii este precedat de un text care pare a funcționa ca motto, fără a fi desemnat astfel, reprezentând în mod real un text poetic de sine stătător, text matrice pentru grupajul căruia îi premerge. Imaginea soarelui guvernează această succesiune de poeme, acționând ca principiu călăuzitor în actul rostirii, care nu mai este numai rostire, ci gest simultan—"Fiecare gură înfrunzea după crugul unui soare ale cărui...". Mișcarea astrului determină "înfrunzirea," simbol al "traducerii în act a principiului a cărui potențialitate o conținea: de unde simbolismul ulterior preluat din regnul vegetal, care se naște și crește din adâncurile Pământului:—arbori, flori, grădini și așa mai departe" (Evola 109). "Gura," corespondent al cuvântului vas, în care se realizează Opera, este prima imagine a textului, dezvăluind astfel aspectul nedespărțit al poeziei și alchimiei. Este vorba de o primă etapă, de o "pornire." Discul soarelui reflectă imaginea întregită, "totală" a unui eu plural, un eu recompus, "efigiile noastre totale," amintind figura "rebisului" alchimic. Traseul circular al astrului descrie o cale către totalitate. Eul-cuplu intuiește identitatea de esență dintre sine și astrul solar, corespondența dintre "ceea ce este sus" și "ceea ce este jos," nu din perspectiva unei cunoașteri logice, ci a unei cunoașteri superioare poetice. "Zarul," imagine a destinului sau a hazardului călăuzește cuplul către unitate—"efigiile noastre totale," parcurgând zone superioare—"scări fără început," imateriale—"falii de ceață". În același timp zarul poate timite la "cubul lui Metatron," atât prin geometria sa, cât și prin semnificație—simbol al "florii vieții," al esenței ființei și, pe această cale, și al pietrei filosofale.

Conținând 17 texte, reunite sub sintagma *Exactitatea umbrei*, primul grupaj al ciclului *Athanor*, acumulează / însumează o serie de imagini și simboluri congenere, al căror efect totalizator se răsfrânge și în planul peritextului. "Zidul," "Aventura cercului," "Crusta," "Secretele golului și ale plinului," "Torsiunea lui Möbius," "Filtru," "Profunzimile suprafeței," "Iubire imensă," "Mult mai bine," "Aveam multă," "Spus," "Obob," "Camera," "Talion," "Aud pașii," "Culegător," redate în succesiunea lor, evocă imagini ale limitei, ale dualității, ale contrariilor, ale compensării, ale rostirii, ale iubirii / unificării și ale rodirii ce se subordonează semnificațiilor complexe ale "umbrei." În această primă grupare este redată experiența contrariilor și a depășirii acestora, a "suspendării legii dualității" și a realizării "stării," a "Materiei Operei."

Primul text, "Zidul," evocă demersul depășirii limitei, a "liniei precise care împarte," și în spatele căreia se află "Omul lăuntric" ce provine din "Omul primordial ceresc Adamas" cum găsim în textele alchimice: "În ce privește Zăgazul se poate aminti din nou tradiția deja citată (*Philosophumena*, V 7) care vorbește de un zid în spatele căreia se află "Omul lăuntric," cel ce provine din "Omul primordial ceresc Adamas," căzut într-o alcătuire de lut și de argilă în care "a uitat totul" (somnul, uitarea etc.)." Raportul cu acest element

este pus sub semnul claustrării, al închiderii—"îl puneam în fața ochilor mă orbea / îmi lipeam urechea de el și mă asurzea... / dacă încercam să trec mă umilea," acesta întruchipând "contrariul," "adversitatea." Limita este redată prin imaginea dreptunghiului, figură geometrică simbolizând materialitatea, dimensiunea concretă, însă posibilitatea comunicării și ieșirii din cadrul îngust al vizibilului este prezentă în funcția ferestrei. Versurile finale cuprind într-o corelație insolită elemente aparent disjuncte. Zidul este pus în legătură cu "dinții" și "sâmburii," cu trimiteri la Cadmos, întemeietor al Tebei, și la Iason, eroul aflat în căutarea lânii de aur, care după înfrângerea dragonului aruncă dinții acestuia pe pământ, din care rasare o armată, ai cărei membri se luptă între ei până când rămân doar cinci ce devin fondatori ai Tebei, respectiv se distrug în totalitate. Annick de Souzenelle interpretează lupta dintre membrii armatei ca o confruntare cu piatra: "Dragonul învins, asumarea coborârii în infern și dinții semănați în pământ pentru a încolți și a rodi sunt tot atâtea elemente ce confirmă procesul de moarte și înviere propriu fiecărei ființe ce devine cuvânt" (Souzenelle 361). În viziunea aceleiași autoare, dinții reprezintă, din perspectiva simbolismului corpului uman, fie o coroană ce încununează gura ca lăcaș al verbului, fie zid ce apără intrarea în acest lăcaș.[94] În poemul lui Gellu Naum, zidul, redat prin chiar radăcinile lui—"dinții-sâmburi," este distrus prin limbaj ("ecoul dinților striviți de cuvinte"), un limbaj interior-exterior, unificator, poetic. În același timp, zidul poate fi interpretat ca limbajul însuși în aspectul său convențional-cultural, limitativ care trebuie distrus pentru a elibera poezia. Cuvântul-poezie este unicul ce poate fisura zidul ce desparte interiorul de exterior.

Textul ulterior evidențiază un proces dinamic—"aventura," ce poate fi citit ca "acțiune," "opus,"—al figurii geometrice a cărei semnificație este strâns legată de opera alchimică—"cercul." Am putea întrezări o aluzie la călătoria spre unitate a ființei, scop fundamental al operei alchimice. Separarea celor patru elemente și reconjuncția acestora în piatra filosofală a alchimiștilor este reprezentată printr-un cerc, imagine geometrică a Ouroborosului, șarpele care își mușcă propria coadă. Depășirea rigidității și dualității dreptunghiului permite pătrunderea în planul "cercului" ca spațiu al anulării acestui dualism și al recuperării unității. Opozabilă "liniei drepte," epuizante, la capătul căreia "așteptă oboseala," cercul descrie o mișcare inepuizabilă, repetitivă—"aleargă aleargă," purificatoare—"prin ploaie," aluzie la operația alchimică a "spălării" materiei. Simultan, această mișcare poate fi interpretată și ca imagine a volatilității mercurului, considerat materia prima a pietrei filosofale. Acest poem, în care cercul se substituie zidului "dreptunghiular," vine ca o confirmare a depășirii limitei, a intrării în Marea Operă, al cărei simbol alchimic este însuși cercul, conform lui J. Evola: "Ideograma alchimică a lui Unul-Totul este cercul: linie sau mișcare care se închide în sine însăși și care își are începutul și sfârșitul în sine însăși. Dar, în hermetism, acest simbol exprimă universul și, totodată, Marea Operă" (Evola 39). Astfel, "aventura" se poate citi ca experiență transfiguratoare a sinelui. Începutul este legat de "simetrie" ("vesela simetrie a începutului"), de dualitatea care se va resorbi în unitate. La captul acestei etape, "oboseala" vestește epuizarea limitațiilor. "Somnul," "săgeata," "echilibrul" reprezintă simboluri congenere ("Tată al somnului văr al săgeții frate al echilibrului") cercului cu semnificații la fel de complexe în alchimie.

Poezia "Crusta" cuprinde o descriere a unui cadru urban marcat de imagini ale suprapunerii și fuzionării planurilor, evidențiat prin unicitatea și omogenitatea spațiului și timpului—"orașul avea o singură casă / casa avea o singură încăpere / încăperea avea un singur perete / peretele avea un singur ceas / ceasul avea o singură limbă." Peisajul urban ia forma unui uriaș Athanor, profilând cucerirea unității și suspendarea timpului: "o singură casă," "o singură încăpere," "un singur perete," "un singur ceas," "o singură limbă"; spațiul și timpul sunt reduse la unitate, prin anularea contrariilor. În interiorul acestui spațiu

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[94] "Dantura pare a încorona Sabia la nivelul gurii, dar n-ar putea fi ea și ultimul zid de apărare întâlnit de Om la intrarea în ultimul palat? Să fie această "împrejmuire de perle fine," cântată de poet, o coroană? Să fie un zid de apărare?"; "Două povestiri din mitologia greacă atribuie dinților rolul de seminţe." Annick de Souzenelle, *Simbolismul corpului uman*. Timișoara: Amarcord, 1999.

se produce coacerea, redată print-o imagine a ciclicității, a substituirii generațiilor. În cheie alchimică, copiii reprezintă faza roșie, în timp ce bătrânii, aici adulții, faza albă. Sub "Crustă," în interior, se petrec miracole, materia trecând de la faza albă la cea roșie—"copiii creșteau... pe când adulții... scădeau surâzând."

Dacă textul anterior se referă la spațialitate, textul "Secretele golului și ale plinului" pare a desemna temporalitatea, golul și plinul indicând fazele lunare ("golirea și umplerea lunii"). Legătura între superior și inferior se realizează prin intermediul unui lucru-ființă nenumit—"Își încălzea limba la soare / își ținea degetul mic în pământ până când înflorea." "Limba," legată de vorbire, de rostire, se plasează sub influență solară, în timp ce mâna-"deget," legată de înfăptuire, de act, este înrădăcinată în pământ, conjuncția celor două elemente determinând înflorirea, care, în alchimie, reprezintă fazele transformării materiei, în special faza albă ("Floarea se formează în Aer"). Primele două versuri amintesc de dictonul hermetic "ceea ce este jos este precum ceea ce este sus." Cele patru versuri izolate alcătuind o posibilă strofă, construite pe un paralelism sintactic ce indică parcă o repetitivitate rituală, reprezintă expresia unei legi a compensării care reclamă o reechilibrare a fiecărui gest—"De câte ori îi era frig își freca mâinile / de câte ori murea își punea ciorapii." Oglindirea, legată de semnificația cercurilor (ceea ce este sus este și jos), dobândește semnificația procesului de reflectare, a lumii superioare a principiilor absolute în plan inferior, a propagării vibrației primordiale în plan concret, precum și a comunicării dintre aceste lumi. De asemenea, ideea oglindirii apare ca arhetip al oricărui proces de creație. Ultimul vers anunță o înjumătățire, reprezentare a descompunerii, dizolvării "când își scotea bretelele îi cădeau picioarele." Oglindirea poate fi descifrată ca fixare a "mercurului," ca descindere în pământ, prin "pierderea picioarelor"—pierderea volatilității. În acest text opozițiile superior/inferior, manifestat/non-manifestat, gol/plin sunt suprimate.

În "Torsiunea lui Möbius" conjuncția "și" este utilizată într-o ipostază aproape "verbală" țesând pe un fir unic realitățile contrarii ale universului. Acest proces își are originea în eu și se desfășoară progresiv incluzând lumea în totalitatea ei. Stânga și dreapta, ca embleme ale opozițiilor, se dezvăluie ca avers și revers ale aceleiași realități unice. Eul se identifică cu lumea, într-o expansiune surprinsă într-un proces infinit—"etc etc." Aparent absurde sau supuse hazardului, asocierile pornesc de la eu—"Mâna mea stângă și ochiul meu drept"—pentru a se prelungi în exterior prin alăturarea unor realități aparent disjuncte— "cheia mea dreaptă și covorul meu stâng." Nu coerența imaginii este căutată, ci aceea a procesului, a permanentei recompuneri a realului ("circulatio") în care se realizează recuperarea unității primordiale a lumii.

Participarea la miracol ("miracolul unui singur lucru") nu este îngăduită oricui, ci numai celor care "văd printre trestii," prin multiplicitatea formelor concrete și dincolo de ele. "Filtru" pare a evidenția izolarea, alegerea, selecția, insinuate prin opoziția între "unul" și "destui," și prin conjuncția "dar"—"Inițial eram destui / dar câte unul vedea printre trestii." Este vorba, de asemenea, de o singularizare, de individualizare și detașare de curentul comun, de drumul tuturor, al celor mulți și asumarea unei căi personale. Sentimentul nonapartenenței este aici o modalitate de eliberare. Literaritatea reprezintă cheia acestui poem. Este vorba despre o filtrare a celor ce trec dincolo de imediat, a căror vedere pătrunde pe partea cealaltă.

Cel care "vede printre trestii" începe o călătorie în zone inaccesibile, pătrunde în "profunzimile suprafeței." "Torsiunea lui Möbius" dezvăluia o reconciliere pe orizontală a părții drepte și a cele stângi, în timp ce "profunzimile suprafeței" pun în relație inferiorul cu superiorul. Acompaniamentul necesar—"Ar fi trebuit un acompaniament pentru..."—se referă la acordul dintre exterior și interior, dintre imagine, sunet și gest, dintre cuvânt și act. Acest acord nu se realizează însă, întrucât sunetul clopotului nu se produce, căci din el "cad bucăți uriașe de vată." Clopotul evocă rezonanța unei realități invizibile, a unui dincolo presimțit, dar nerevelat. Aspectul dublu—material—imaterial al realului este redat aici prin jocul imagine / concret—sunet / abstract (nematerial, cuvânt), sunet—tăcere. Ritualizarea—"ar fi trebuit câteva gesuri decisive și sigure"—existenței pare a reprezenta o modalitate de recuperare a acestui acord necesar.

Regăsirea unității este posibilă prin "Iubire imensă," prin miracolul dragostei. Anularea dualității prin experiența întregitoare a dragostei se reflectă în reportul celor două principii care însă nu se află în relație de adversitate, ci de coeziune. Atât ca părți ale androginului, cât și ca principii opozabile ale aceluiași individ, iubirea repară ruptura existentă în planul ființei, făcând posibilă simultaneitatea acestora: "cu două guri vorbeam și mă ascultam singur." Cei doi sori desemnează astrul ceresc și corespondentul său spiritual, nematerial, actualizat în interiorul eului, deveniți puncte centrale coliniare ale existeței iubitei. În timp ce elementul masculin este redat prin imaginea cercului, semnificând cerul, aerul, superiorul, cel al feminității este figurat prin cub, simbol al pământului. Reprezentarea feminității prin imaginea cubului nu e străină de reprezentările alchimice. În geometria sacră, cubul lui Metatron (al cărui nume provine de la Arhanghelul cu același nume, care, în scrierile islamice, iudaice și creștine, era considerat scribul lui Dumnezeu și posesor al tainelor creației, echivalent al egipteanului Thot Hermes) reprezintă un arhetip ce desemnează primul model al naturii, forma fundamentală a timpului și spațiului, taina creației, materia primă, și care își găsește corespondențe în simboluri ca floarea vieții, arborele vieții, fructul vieții. Acest cub este expresia grafică a legăturilor pe care viața le țese între toate ființele. Relația cu alchimia se realizează pe acest palier al semnificațiilor:

> Arta Hermetică înseamnă a reînvia sensul analogiilor, restabilind realitatea legăturilor: autosuficientă și neavând nevoie de nimic, așa cum autosuficient și neavând nevoie de nimic este 'lucrul unic,' 'tehnic, divin și operativ,' ea vrăjește naturile consubstanțiale pe baza afinităților naturilor, de aceea se poate spune în modul cel mai riguros că 'Opera e o a treia lume, deoarece e asemănătoare celorlalte două lumi și deoarece adună laolaltă forțele macrocosmosului și ale microcosmosului'. (Evola 46)

Poemele care urmează, cu motive vegetale, "Mult mai bine" și "Aveam multă," evocă spațiul Comanei dar și semnificațiile complexe ale sugestiilor vegetale în alchimie. Frunzele definesc "conturul de răcoare," individualizarea, interiorizarea și izolarea. Asumarea acestei condiții vegetale, ca expresie a naturaleții și autenticității primare, implică renunțarea la atributele civilizației, așa-zis culturale—"să citești cărți portocalii," "să te așezi picior peste picior," "să-ți pui pălăria alături," "să desenezi cu creta pe asfalt." Imaginea din finalul poemului poate fi cititã ca încheiere a existenței, în urma căreia rămâne o urmă circulară, în centrul căreia "pălăria ca un fruct ud" poate desemna abandonarea convențiilor și poate chiar a condiției umane. De asemenea, îmbrăcând haina de frunze eul își asumă o ipostaza centrală, identificându-se cu arborele, ce în tradiția alchimică "exprimă forța universală, care se manifestă în lumea fenomenală" (Evola 15). Gestul care închide poemul, al abandonării pălăriei, ca simbol al civilizației, în mijlocul petei rotunde poate sugera lepădarea totală de concret, respingerea categorică a oricăror constrângeri, eliberarea totală.

Simbolismul vegetal din "Aveam multă," asociat calcarului, trimite la reprezentările alchimice—calcarul reprezintă opera la alb și, de asemenea, regnul mineral, ființa telurică, în timp ce iarba reprezintă regnul vegetal, ființa lunară. Tot aici se reia seria opozițiilor, interior/ exterior—"Pe dinăuntru eram calcar pe dinafară iarbă / [...] poate creștea iarbă înăuntru calcarului / [...] Poate ciocăneam eu înăuntrul calcarului," producându-se o adevărată torsiune a lui Möbius în alternarea celor două planuri suprapuse. Semnificația vântului are rezonanță în nașterea pietrei filosofale cum apare în "Scara Filosofilor": "Și trebuie să știi că fiul Înțelepților se naște în văzduh," și de asemenea: "Căci generarea copilului nostru are loc în aer; dacă se naște în aer, se naște conform înțelepciunii; căci se ridică de la pământ în aer și coboară din nou pe pământ, dobândind puterea de sus și pe cea de jos." La fel și în "Tabla de Smarald a lui Hermes Trismegistos": "Soarele îi este tată, Luna îi este mamă, Vântul l-a purtat în pântecele său, sânul Pământului l-a hrănit."

În poezia "Spus," ca o recuperare a dezechilibrului din "Profunzimile suprafeței," universul amplifică rostirea, reface acordul dintre exterior și interior, dintre eu și lume, dintre eu și feminitate. Ecoul produs de clopotul de fier reflectă propagarea cuvântului poetic în planul fenomenal. Sunetul clopotului de fier

vine ca răspuns al fiecărui gest al eului—"când respiram lângă ea suna / […] ea asculta și suna / ca un clopot de fier suna," sugestie a comunicării neîntrerupte a vibrației permanente în fața manifestărilor eului. În alchimie "virtutea spiritualicește războinică ascunsă sub simbolul acelui metal și al acelui zeu (Marte) este recunoscută ca unul dintre cele mai bune principii și ca una dintre cele mai bune 'materii prime' pentru Operă..." (Evola 118). Dacă în "Profunzimile suprafeței" clopotele nu produc ecou, rămân mute la rostirea eului, în "Spus" clopotul unic produce sunetul acord. Aici sunetul apare ca opus vocii "generatoare de întuneric," din poemul ulterior, în timp ce sunetul pare a reprezenta ipostaza esențializată, epurată a acesteia.

Bizarul titlu "Obob," aparent un simplu joc în stil subversiv-suprarealist, se descifrează ca dublare a cuvântului ebraic 'ob' ce reprezintă aspectul inferior al luminii astrale, curenții negativi ai acesteia, semnificând puterile întunericului. Dublarea cuvântului poate sugera o sporire a acestui aspect al cuvântului, o intensificare a forței întunericului prin multiplicare, prin propagare. Pluralul substantivului— "voci"—sugerează multiplicitatea, indepărtarea sau refuzul vocii unice, poetice. Această poezie poate fi citită și ca imersiune în întuneric, în nigredo, în noptea anunțată de "seară," ca întâlnire cu zonele cele mai întunecate, inferioare ale sinelui. Imaginea "mamei obscure obscene" redă ideea zonelor malefice ale realului, materia prima cu dublul aspect, aici referirea fâcându-se la semnificațiile negative ale acesteia. Cadrul obscur este dublat de aluzia la "oboseala pietrelor," cărora li se atribuie verbul "gâfâie," ca sugestie a epuizării și diluării principiului vital. "Balansarea" sugerează o acțiune compensatoare, echilibratoare. Opozițiile își asumă raportul aproape—departe, prin intermediul căruia se redă extinderea întunericului, precum și prezența acestora în proximitatea eului.

Textul "Camera" cumulează o parte a imaginilor recurente în textele anterioare—sunetul, simbolurile vegetale, opoziția interior – exterior, pietrele, athanorul, apa. Raportul acestora se conturează mai definit în aceste versuri. Camera evocă imaginea Athanorului—"Era o cameră foarte lucioasă / Totul era foarte lucios..."—a închiderii ermetice și, prin luciu, chiar ideea focului. Pianul, ca imagine a sunetului, a muzicii, a sunetului dincolo de voce, dincolo de vorbire, evocă semnificațiile verbului primordial, ale numelui, ale pietrei sugerând una dintre etapele alchimice prin sintagma "vegetația sunetului ud." Eul se plasează în miezul acestui sunet creator. Ca *materia prima* (italicele mele) a Operei, sunetul—fluid, lichid, material, mercurial—apare în ipostaza depășirii primei etape, nigredo, prin mișcarea ascensională a vegetației. Eul se identifică cu acest sunet, cu camera însăși—"eram foarte lucios," în miezul căreia se simte protejat— "cu armură acustică," sunetul devine una cu piatra și focul—"cu armură acustică mierală incandescentă." Culorile roșu, negru, violet și alb redau diversele nuanțe pe care le dobândește materia în cadrul trecerii prin etapele procesului alchimic, astfel opoziția interior—exterior este anulată.

Ideea echilibrului universal, a unei compensări absolute este redată prin referirea simbolică la legea *Talionului* (subl. n.)*, însă este vorba de o rescriere a acestei legi puse, de data aceasta, sub semnul hazardului. Dacă legea Talionului implică echivalența, Gellu Naum asociază realități logic incompatibile, ca expresie a unei înțelegeri mai vaste, mai ample a lumii. Această rescriere se realizează din perspectiva unității lumii—"casa neîntreruptă," în cadrul căreia omul este legat prin fire invizibile de tot ce îl înconjoară, fie el obiect ori ființă ("legătura cu lucrurile"). Concretul și abstractul există într-o continuitate neîntreruptă / nediferențiată—"și exista un scaun și se făcea o virtute."

Poezia "Aud pașii" sugerează presimțirea realizării alchimice—maeștrii alchimiei numind *copil* (subl. n.) "opera la roșu." Cenușa este în aceeași măsură rezultatul arderii, al operei la negru, precum și materie menită a fi supusă transmutațiilor ulterioare. "Taurii," simbol al mercurului, "și-au înfipt coarnele în pământ," expresie a fixării acestuia.

"Culegător" reflectă o substituție între eu și fructele deja coapte pe care le culege. Eul așteaptă împlinirea, desăvârșirea; culegătorul așteaptă să fie cules. Se induce ideea continuității procesului prin motivul așteptării. În textele alchimice "Fructul copt toamna va semnifica fixarea principiului solar reînviat" (Evola 112).

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Grigore Cugler (1903-1972), scriitor multi şi transcultural

(Grigore Cugler (1903-1972), A Multi- and Transcultural Writer)

Abstract: Maybe the most wronged by history among the avant-garde writers, Grigore Cugler is, together with Urmuz and Ionesco, the third Romanian master of the absurd. A rereading of Cugler brings to the forefront a literary text that combines the absurd, the Surrealism, and the fantastic in a fascinating manner, unique in literature. In spite of *Apunake*'s qualities, in 1947 his creator is forced to give up both Romanian and European literary life and his impressive diplomatic career. Exiled to Buenos-Aires, then to Lima, Cugler will never become part of his adoptive world, and even less of the South American literature. Still, he writes, taking over South-American themes, which he passes through his own judgement, marked by the European avant-garde whose outstanding representative he was. Even if Cugler's house in Lima had become a place of pilgrimage for younger European avant-garde, he dies in obscurity, frustrated by the final break with his mother country and literature. The texts that Ştefan Baciu will publish posthumously show us a cosmopolitan Cugler, who, although unable to adjust himself, had assimilated the great lessons of the cultures he had known as a diplomat and, later, as an exiled. At the same time, Cugler's absurd manner had refined, it had received the nobility of an old wine. It was not about revolt any more. It was about style. A faultless, transcultural, percussive, unique style which we will analyse to distinguish its nuances and to make out its directions.

Keywords: extenso, Procust, vanguard, metatext, letter

> *Motto:* "Cel mai important scriitor român de avangardă după Urmuz, Grigore Cugler depăşeşte prin fantezie şi imaginaţie tot ce s-a scris până la el" (Cugler, *Alb şi negru* 15).

Extrem de puţin cunoscut, chiar în mediile academice, Grigore Cugler este unul dintre cei mai importanţi exponenţi ai avangardei româneşti. Bunicul său, Karl von Kugler (n. 1814), era un arhitect austriac stabilit la Iaşi, cel care a construit spitalul Sf. Spiridon. Tatăl autorului, Grigore Cugler senior, era medic, autor de cărţi de specialitate, căsătorit cu Ana Ţincu (mama autorului), fata lui Nicolae Ţincu, poet şi scriitor, redactor la *Universul*. Sora Anei Ţincu era Matilda Cugler Poni, celebră scriitoare junimistă, căsătorită cu chimistul şi inventatorul Petre Poni (inventatorul stiloului). Astfel Grigore Cugler era vărul binecunoscutului critic de artă Petru Comarnescu. Şi pentru ca tabloul eredităţii sale intelectuale şi multiculturale să fie complet, Grigore Cugler se va căsători cu Ulla Gerda Lizinca Matilda Dryssen, nepoata amiralului comandant al marinei regale suedeze (Popa, "Prefaţă" 7). Urmează cursurile Liceului militar de la Mănăstirea Dealul (participă la Primul Război Mondial, este rănit şi medaliat cu Crucea Regina Maria şi Crucea Comemorativă). Pe urmă îşi continuă studiile la Facultatea de Drept din Bucureşti (licenţă în 1925) şi în paralel frecventează cursurile Conservatorului din Bucureşti, clasa de vioară—Alfons Castaldi şi compoziţie—Mihai Jora. În 1926 obţine o menţiune onorifică la concursul George Enescu, iar compoziţiile sale sunt cântate de către societatea muzicală Mazerska din Stockholm.

Ofițer al armatei române, erou de război, în perioada 1927-1947 lucrează ca diplomat trimis de Ministerul Regal al Afacerilor Străine la Stockholm, Berna, Berlin, Bratislava, Copenhaga și Oslo. Între 1946 și 1947, într-o pauză diplomatică, activează ca violonist în Orchestra Teatrului Național din București. Cu toate că munca sa în diplomație era extrem de apreciată, după cum se poate vedea din această scrisoare de recomandare a lui George Crutzescu din 10 decembrie, 1943: "Socot că domnul Cugler este un scriitor talentat, un compozitor de valoare, un diplomat eminent, înzestrat cu cele mai frumoase calități, atât intelectuale cât și sufletești. Având o mare putere de muncă, dornic să cunoască sub toate înfățișările ei țara în care este trimis, știind să-și facă și să-și păstreze legături cu personalități din toate mediile sociale, este în orice post neprețuit" (Popa, "Prefață" 7).

Odată cu schimbarea regimului politic din 1947, Cugler se vede nevoit să își prezinte demisia: "Față de noua orientare politică a Guvernului român, care se îndepărtează de convingerile și sentimentele mele, vă rog a-mi accepta demisia din cadrele Ministerului Afacerilor Străine" (*Alb și negru* 8) spune Grigore Cugler în noiembrie 1947.

Exilul îl poartă prin Buenos Aires pentru câțiva ani pentru ca în cele din urmă să se stabilească cu soția și fiicele sale în Lima, unde în perioada 1948-1972 lucrează ca agent al unei companii de asigurări și ca prim violonist al Orchestrei Simfonice Naționale din Peru. La Lima, Grigore Cugler își scrie o mare parte din operă, *Cartea de bucate, Afară de unul singur, Pir-Pir,* sau *Amintiri din copilărie.* Colaborează la revistele românilor din exil din toată lumea, Paris, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Honolulu și altele.

Îmbină literatura cu muzica și desenul. Începe să își deseneze personajele din proze. Ștefan Baciu, cel care vede aceste desene, este uimit de calitatea lor plastică și de talentul plural al acestui mare autor. Scrie texte în limbile română, franceză și spaniolă. În orice limbă scrie, textele sale își păstrează muzicalitatea și plasticitatea. Cu toate acestea, ca un alt joc absurd specific lui Cugler, acesta, conform mărturiilor lui Ștefan Baciu, părea total mdezinteresat de posteritatea sa. Niciodată nu a trimis un text scris în spaniolă unei reviste de limba spaniolă sau un text scris în franceză unei reviste de limbă franceză, preferând să trimtă texte în spaniolă la Honolulu și texte în franceză la Buenos Aires sau la Madrid (Baciu 386).

Colegii de generație, istoricii literari și criticii de specialitate au stabilit următoarele influențe extrem de diverse în opera lui Cugler: Folclor (*Nastratin*, *Păcală*), Alfred Jarry, James Branch Cabell, St. J. Perse, St. Leger, Charles Cros, Christian Morgestern.[95] Cugler îmbină toate aceste experiențe discursive într-o operă unică ca tematică și expresie.

Acuzat de criticul Constantin Ciopraga că ar fi un epigon de mâna a doua a lui Urmuz, Cugler menționează într-un interviu că, din cauza carierei sale care îl ținea departe de țară, nu îl citise pe Urmuz. Ștefan Baciu confirmă acest lucru ca fiind foarte posibil. Cu toate acestea este evident că Grigore Cugler, chiar dacă l-ar fi citit pe Urmuz, nu este un epigon al acestuia ci, în cel mai rău caz, un continuator.

Grigore Cugler este, alături de Urmuz, un precursor al literaturii absurde. Folosește *avant la lettre* tehnici ale absurdului care vor fi consacrate de Ionesco și Beckett. Petru Comarnescu afirmă că Grigore Cugler vine să umple o lipsă a literaturii române și chiar europene (Popa, "Prefață" 10).

Citindu-i textele, putem cu ușurință vedea în Grigore Cugler unul dintre cei mai inteligenți scriitori români, autor al unor jocuri lexicale sclipitoare. Întreaga sa operă este o replică la literatura modernistă, pe care o parodiază subtil, înfățișându-i neajunsurile, lipsa de miză și de consistență.

Un alt scop al literaturii lui Cugler este acela al demontării absurde, al ironizării cu umor, a tuturor teoriilor care explică adevărurile existenței (fiorul artei, misterul morții, idealul feminin, scopul existenței, et cetera). Imaginația sa este funambulescă, alienată, insolită. Combinații absurde de scabros, oribil, monstruos, grotesc angrenează construcții textuale fantaste care denunță convențiile plate ale realului și

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[95] Ștefan Baciu, *Praful de pe tobă*. București: Eminescu, 1995. 376. Print; Grigore Cugler, *Alb și negru*. București: Eforie, 2003. (prefață de Mircea Popa, p 10). Print.

oferă o alternativă aspirației transcedentale. Personajele lui Cugler se animalizează treptat, suferă un proces de continuă degradare pentru a renaște în forme ideale, întocmai ca niște phoenicși absurzi.

In extenso, prozele lui Cugler explorează și sugerează absurditatea actului existențial. Cugler subminează intenționat și programatic speciile și genurile literare amestecând proza cu textul poetic sau teatrul, fără nicio regulă aparentă. Textele lui Cugler prefigurează, din nou *avant la lettre*, contopirea genurilor și a speciilor literare în literatura post-modernistă, optând pentru un discurs transgenuri și specii. Amalgamul de forme literare pe care Cugler le strunește într-un stil personalizat, unic, dovedește îmbătrânirea speciilor literare și lipsa lor de utilitate. După cum spune Mircea Popa:

> Grigore Cugler este un mare novator și împătimit creator de forme și discursuri literare, un apologet al polifoniei textului, între subtext și metatext existând aici o puternică legătură. El sfidează cu bună știință legile și regulile literalității cunoscute, respinge împărțirile rigide între specii. (…) *Afară de unul singur* este una dintre babiloniile cele mai ciudate ale literaturii romăne, un fel de nouă *Țiganiadă*, dar lipsită de coerența interioară a acesteia, un altfel de *Pat al lui Procust*, conceput ca un dialog liminar între spații și forme literare dintre cele mai eteroclite. (15)

Apropo de reguli în literatură, Grigore Cugler menționa că "Fiecare scriitor ar face bine să se gândească de două ori înainte de a se hotărî să impună cititorilor săi un gest și o prezență notorie" (*Alb și negru* 19).

Una dintre obsesiile lui Grigore Cugler este evadarea din realitate, din realitatea convențională cel puțin. Realitatea mărginește, iar prizonierii realului sunt limitați, susținea el. Cum observă și Mircea Popa, nu de puține ori Cugler adoptă aparențele unui discurs științific, presărat cu date tehnice, tocmai pentru a arăta limitele acestui tip de discurs. De exemplu: "Arta teatrală este contrastul dintre un volum de lumină și un volum de întuneric. Puse față în față, se naște între ele, pe linia de întâlnire, care este rampa, un văl de vibrații, o perdea de scânteieri și cu cât acea perdea este mai deasă, cu atât efectul asupra publicului este mai puternic" (Cugler, *Alb și negru* 19).

Tot Mircea Popa observă că multe dintre personajele lui Cugler par a fi un melanj de literatură SF cu literatura absurdă. De exemplu:

> Acest autor este echipat cu o antenă de radio montată în arcada ochiului, un nas rezervor și urechi sugative. În deschizăturile nărilor avea ventilatoare cu aripi nichelate, iar în jurul gâtului purta o frânghie groasă, atât de strâns înnodată, încât i se îngropa adânc în carne, dând feței culoarea roșie-vânătă a ficatului de bou crud. Prin contrast cu figura, umerii, pe care îi purta goi, erau albi ca floarea de crin. Îmbrăcămintea lui începea de la jumătatea pieptului în jos și consta din felii subțiri de pâine înmuiate în lapte de biber. Când îl întreba cineva pentru ce tocmai de biber, autorul răspundea invariabil: Pentru că totul este relativ (Cugler, *Alb și negru* 23).

Însă nu atât componenta tehnică este cea care individualizează textul lui Cugler, cât viziunea mascat metaforică. Putem discuta în acest caz unic de metaforă absurdă. Personajele lui Cugler, ca și întreaga lume în care acestea se învârt, sunt paradoxale: deși sunt constituite după regulile absurdului sunt alegorii, transmit o concepție asupra lumii, iar în interpretarea ideală fac sens, ceea ce în literatura absurdă pură nu se poate întâmpla.

Grigore Cugler este un expert nu doar al amestecului de discursuri literare și al elementelor aparent disparate, ci și al combinațiilor de registre, în care vegetalul, animalul și mecanicul se îmbină pentru a crea teritorii și ființe stranii, care se întipăresc pe retină prin bizareria și excentricitatea lor transreală.

Stranietatea este principalul orizont în care Cugler intenționează să își introducă lectorul, întregul text comportându-se ca un bun conductor pentru acest curent electric care este straniul și care scurtcircuitează neuronii receptorului aruncându-l într-un univers în care totul funcționează altfel și în alt scop.

Receptarea critică a lui Grigore Cugler a fost mereu aflată sub semnul ghinionului. Deși debutul său *Apunake*, în 1926, apoi revenirea cu textul scurt *Match Nul*, din 1930, au fost extrem de bine primite (după

mărturiile avangardiștilor, *Apunake* era recitat pe de rost la întâlnirile lor și ani la rând a fost transmis pe cale orală ca un obiect de cult), slujba de diplomat l-a ținut departe de țară, departe de mediile active ale avangardiștilor români și astfel departe de vizorul criticii de specialitate. Astfel, *Apunake și alte fenomene* nu are nicio cronică în epocă.

Când publică în 1945 *Afară de unul singur* (varianta 1), deși în 1946 revine pentru un an în țară și se implică în viața culturală bucureșteană, volumul rămâne fără ecou pentru că la București curentul avangardist era deja în declin. Criticii vremii erau deja interesați de alte formule. Din 1947 începe exilul scriitorului, acesta fiind interzis și intrând într-un con de umbră și mai mare decât până atunci.

Deși se bucură de o mare apreciere din partea literaților români din exil, în țară nu se știe nimic despre Cugler. Primul care îl reintroduce într-un fel în circuit este Sașa Pană care, în 1969 (profitând de momentul de liberalizare) îl introduce în prima antologie a avangardei românești. Urmează o altă perioadă de tăcere.

După 1989 Grigore Cugler începe să fie readus în atenția publică prin articole semnate de cercetători ca Mircea Popa, Barbu Brezianu, Mircea Anghelescu, Geo Șerban, Alexandru Condeescu, Nicoleta Sălcudeanu sau Ion Pop. Totuși, nici până astăzi Cugler nu a fost rediscutat critic, în totalitatea operei sale și nu i se acordă importanța pe care o merită.

Există însă voci, cum a fost aceea a poetului Mircea Ivănescu, care susținea, oral, de câte ori avea ocazia, că Grigore Cugler este unul dintre cei mai importanți scriitori români din toate timpurile Provenind dintr-o familie multi culturală și multi artistică, Grigore Cugler trăiește în decursul vieții în opt culturi, civilizații diferite, pe care le asimilează, și practică profesionist trei arte.

Literatura scrisă de Grigore Cugler este trans-culturală prin excelență, de la nivel tehnic (aglutinări de discursuri, eliminarea granițelor, contopirea stilurilor) până la tematică (parodierea ideilor grave ale literaturii moderniste) și miză (modificarea percepției asupra limitelor și inutilității convențiilor realității).

Toată literatura lui Cugler este, la fel ca în cazul lui Kafka sau al lui Urmuz, o reacție la constrângerile și la absurdul societății înconjurătoare. Pentru demascarea și ironizarea acesteia Cugler își folosește combinat cunoștințele militare, juridice, diplomatice, literare, muzicale, plastice, et cetera. Într-un final, opera lui Grigore Cugler devine un Imago Mundi în negativ, acesta radiografiind realitatea și inversând accentele de culoare.

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Tradiţia toleranţei la români – nivele şi forme de manifestare

(The Romanian Tradition of Tolerance—Levels and Forms of Manifestions)

Abstract: The traditional organization of the Romanian villages included a series of realities, human statutes, interhuman relationships and, as a consequence, mental patterns, which required specialized terms in order to be identified. As time went on, the Romanian traditional society suffered brutal transformations forthbringing social relations, but most of all, mental patterns that had not existed before. As a natural consequence, the old specialized language—'relic notions'—became insufficient to cover the new realities. So, those notions that were not simply removed from usage, were adapted, changing their applicability. Clear examples are the notions of 'cneaz,' 'boier' and 'mişel.' The word 'cneaz' came to have the meaning of "ruler of a 'cnezat,'" while, before, it had indicated a free man. The same way, the notion of 'boier,' used to identify the land owner in a village, came to have the meaning of a Romanian nobleman and aristocrat, besides the 'land owner.' The word 'mişel,' derived from 'misselus' (miser)ment 'poor' and also 'leper' in Vulgar Latin. The traditional organization of the Romanian villages changed its meaning and gave it a new one, that of a stranger who was attached to a village, but lived isolated outside its borders.

Keywords: tradition, tolerance, spirituality, Romanian, community, the custom of the land, foreigner.

Introducere

Integrarea în Comunitatea Europeană este în primul rând efectul unui act de voinţă şi apoi al 'dovezilor' economice şi spirituale pe care statele (popoarele) candidate le-au adus pentru a demonstra că s-au încadrat parametrilor ceruţi. Dintre acestea, componenta spirituală presupune asumarea unui set de valori caracteristice 'spiritului european' şi emanate în principal din viziunea generală impusă de Declaraţia Drepturilor Omului. Însă, la întâlnirea europeană popoarele au venit, fiecare la vremea lui, cu bagajul distinct de spiritualitate şi mentalitate, în care se fac simţite aluviunile datorate secolelor de acumulări.

Acest text poate fi privit ca un 'studiu de caz' referitor la imperativul european al *toleranţei*; vom încerca deci să evidenţiem tiparele mentale româneşti legate de ideea de *străin* (Popescu 120-157) şi modalitatea în care s-au argumentat ele istoric.

Analiza/studiul de caz

În aşa-numitul ev mediu întunecat, prima mie de ani, apoi în perioada statală, până în secolul al XIX-lea inclusiv, societatea tradiţională sătească românească—de la Dunăre până în nordul Carpaţilor, din câmpia din vest până la Nistru—a funcţionat datorită formei sale elementare de organizare numită obşte. Sunt necesare câteva scurte caracterizări ale acesteia, pentru a se înţelege mai uşor statutul străinului—nu doar abordat ca simplu element aleatoriu, ci ca un termen de relaţie în cadrul unui sistem conceput complex.

Fiecare sat constituia o obşte, adică membrii ei erau urmaşii unui moş, cel care întemeiase aşezarea. Pentru orice problemă implicând o dispută între membrii obştii, se apela la *obiceiul pământului*, transmis pe cale orală din generaţie în generaţie şi care însuma toate aspectele pe care astăzi le identificăm prin noţiunile *constituţie, legislaţie şi jurisprudenţă*. Desigur, nu putem intra acum în amănunte; vrem numai

să atragem luarea aminte asupra termenului obiceiul pământului, creație românească, și neîntâlnită la alte popoare, care implică o legătură între pământ (pământul *acesta* anume) și obicei (lege, emanată pe acest pământ și individualizându-l astfel).

Pentru a administra obiceiul pământului, obștea alegea, dintre membrii săi, pentru câte un an, un jude, care era asistat la aceasta de 12 judeci, 'oameni buni și bătrâni.' Locuitorii satului se numeau moșneni, descendenții moșului, titlu ce le confirma legătura de sânge cu acela. În vechime, moșnenii purtau și titlul de cneaz, care mai târziu l-a desemnat în istoriografie pe șeful unei formațiuni prestatale; tradițional însă cneaz însemna "om liber membru al obștii," iar acest sens este atestat chiar în documente până în secolul al XVII-lea, care se referă la persoane care tocmai au fost eliberate din șerbie, situație în care se spune că ei s-au "cnezit" (Panaitescu, "Obștea" 38) (adică au căpătat statutul de om liber). O a treia calitate indispensabilă a membrului obștii era identificată prin termenul boier, care de la un moment dat incoace a identificat o realitate deviată în raport cu cea inițială: la început, boier se numea "membrul obștii posesor de pământ," așa cum apare în documente din aceeași perioadă, când despre un om care a devenit posesorul unui pământ se spune că s-a "boierit" (Panaitescu, "Obștea" 124).

Cuprinzând într-o singură ecuație caracterizările abia menționate ale membrului obștii, identificăm o funcționalitate precisă: 1. membrul obștii este moșnean, adică descendent al moșului, ceea ce-i asigură drepturile 'politice,' punctul de vedere propriu sau chiar posibilitatea de a fi ales jude; 2. el este boier, adică are pământ personal în cadrul obștii, tocmai pentru că este membru al acesteia, iar pământurile unei obști, aflate la început în devălmășie, s-au împărțit exclusiv între membrii obștii; 3. având pământ, el este cneaz, adică om liber și stăpân, afirmat ca atare între ai săi sau față de domnie. La acești oameni se reducea obștea ca atare. Dar!

Pe lângă obște, alături de membrii acesteia, se puteau aciui oameni din afara obștii; li se permitea aceasta în cazul în care prezența lor era considerată oportună pentru obște, mai ales atunci când se dovedeau meșteșugari iscusiți. Permisiunea la care m-am referit însemna însă numai că aceluia în cauză i se acorda un loc de casă, dar în afara perimetrului satului, și **în nici un caz pământ de cultivat**. Ceea ce făcea deci obștea era numai să îi *tolereze prezența*, fără însă a-l introduce în sistemul de solidarități al obștii, pentru că acesta viza exclusiv oameni 'de-o seamă.'

Acest om de dincolo de periferia satului purta numele de *străin*, și oamenii nu-l tratau ca pe unul 'de-al lor', ci ca pe un venetic, venit din alt sat, unde nu s-a putut integra poate pentru că a fost un om rău, alungat de ceilalți. Consemnările de mentalitate tradițională sunt explicite: "Veneticu-i venetic și nu-i bine văzut, că nu de bun a plecat. De ce-o fi venit ? La el în sat n-o putut sta? Dacă și-a părăsit satul, nu-i om de ispravă; da' și de e, tot nu să uită lumea bucuros la el, că vezi, nu-l știe nime. Și vezi, omul se teme [de acesta]! Omul tot străin rămâne, orice-ar face" (Bernea 40). În textul acesta este vorba de străinul de satul respectiv, dar având aceeași etnie sau religie; bine înțeles, în privința străinului etnic lucrurile nu pot sta mai favorabil.

Străinul este numit cel mai adesea sărac; el este antiteza boierului, adică este lipsit de pământ. Tiparul mental identificabil aici, derivat din însăși structura obștii, spune că bogăția este exclusiv legată de pământ —nu poți fi de fapt bogat decât dacă ai pământ; neavând pământ, oricâte lucruri sau bani ai, aparții categoriei săracilor. Iar în acest sens, era o realitate că unii dintre acești 'săraci'—dacă erau buni meseriași cu randament ridicat, cu produse vândute în tot satul, ba și în sate vecine—puteau fi în fapt mult mai avuți decât diverși 'boieri' ai satului, dar ei continuau să fie numiți 'săraci' și să fie priviți de sus de către membrii obștii. Bogăția autentică presupunea prestanță, pe care o asigura numai posesia pământului; bogăția obținută independent de pământ nu ținea de un proces peren și natural și era mai mult efectul nenormalității. Ea nu putea asigura prestanță. De aceea mentalitatea tradițională românească a inclus și ostilitatea față de negustor.

Mai există și un alt aspect, nu mai puțin interesant. Acești 'străini' (sau 'săraci'), dată fiind izolarea lor în raport cu obștea, la care m-am referit înainte, erau numiți și *mișei* (Panaitescu, "Obștea" 48),[96] termen care-l identifica deopotrivă pe bolnavul de lepră—pentru ambele situații existând similara sugestie a *izolării față de colectivitatea umană*.

'Mișel' era derivat din lat. *misellus* (formă diminutivală de la *miser*) și însemna în latina vulgară deopotrivă 'sărman' și, prin derivări sinonimice, 'nefericit,' 'sărac', dar și 'bolnav de lepră,' 'lepros.' În limba română veche nu exista termenul 'lepros,' bolnavul de lepră identificându-se numai prin cuvântul 'mișel,' prezent în numeroase documente unde este vorba despre astfel de bolnavi, care trăiau izolați de oameni, în locuri speciale, pe care nu aveau voie să le părăsească—astfel că intra în grija voievodului, a bisericii și a obștilor să le asigure mijloace de trai.

Deci iată cum—iar faptul ca atare este, bineînțeles, creator de tipar mental termenul de 'mișel,' deopotrivă numindu-i pe 'străini,' nemembri ai obștii, care, de aceea, trăiau izolați, dincolo de perimetrul satului, sugerează exact statutul leprosului. Străinul este un lepros! De altfel, judecata în discuție este simplă și inapetentă pentru nuanțe: cine nu este legat prin sânge și nu are un trecut pe care l-a parcurs împreună cu obștea, cine nu posedă pământ din acel ansamblu de ogoare pe care obștea îl socotește al ei —acela nu este 'de-o seamă' cu ceilalți și nu poate intra în sistemul de solidarități al obștii. Cu alte cuvinte, obștea nu-l apără, căci nu răspunde pentru el, nu-i cere sfatul în problemele de interes comun, căci față de problemele acelei obști el este incompetent, și, asemenea, membrii obștii nu se întovărășesc cu el. Desigur, ceea ce este valabil în raportul cu străinii de obștea respectivă este valabil și pentru străinii etnic. De altfel, nume actuale de familie, precum "Grecu," "Rusu" etc., pot proveni, de la caz la caz, fie de la anume sugestii fizice, fie chiar de la identificarea de către români a neamului din care provenea respectivul. Deci acela fusese acceptat de o comunitate românească să se așeze alături cu statut de străin. Avem de-a face cu o modalitate dură de a aborda problema, cu care umanisnul nostru de azi se împacă greu. Trebuie să ne gândim însă că obștea a fost funcțională și a îndeplinit rolul de chivot al spiritualității românești atâta timp cât nu a făcut rabat de la principiile structurilor sale. Să ne gândim că obștea era celula societății românești; ea era puternică și viabilă doar dacă era impenetrabilă. De aceea ea trebuia să fie foarte rigidă în aplicarea principiilor structurilor sale și era marcată cotidian de conservatorism.

Să nu ne pripim însă identificând aici doar lipsă de toleranță. E adevărat că străinul era privit ca un lepros, că obștenii îl țineau deoparte și, practic, îi aminteau cotidian că îi sunt superiori. În același timp totuși îi acceptau prezența, nu-l negau ca entitate umană și nu-i negau dreptul la alteritate.

Concluzie

Pe de altă parte, numai și numai pentru că celula societății rămânea impenetrabilă și inalterabilă, la nivelul statului se puteau produce derogări și chiar experimente. Voi da, înainte de a încheia, două exemple pledând pentru **toleranța românească**. Cel dintâi îi privește pe voievozi, în primul rând cei din secolele XIV-XV, care îngăduiau misiuni catolice în țările române, venite explicit pentru acțiuni de convertire. Este o realitate pe care și înțelegerea de astăzi ar socoti-o a se încadra în noțiunea de toleranță. Drept este însă că misionarii se întorceau așa cum veneau, iar voievozii făceau un fel de demonstrație prin reducere la absurd, contând pe atașamentul românilor față de propria religie.

Al doilea exemplu privește Biserica românească și este consemnat de Dimitrie Cantemir în *Descriptio Moldaviae* (III, 3), atunci când vorbește despre mănăstirile țării: "oricine ar veni [la o mănăstire] ca oaspete, fie că este ortodox, fie evreu, fie turc, fie armean, nu numai că trebuie să fie primit cu bună voință, dar, chiar dacă ar vrea să rămână acolo un an întreg, trebuie să fie hrănit și întreținut, în mod cumpătat, și îngrijit, împreună cu însoțitorii și dobitoacele pe care le are cu sine, și aceasta fără nici un murmur" (359).

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[96] Pentru vechea atestare a termenului, vd. B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente den bătrâni*, ediție de G. Mihăilă, tom II, Buc., Ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, 1984, p. 67. Print.

În vremea aceea, Occidentul construia mărețe catedrale, dar construia și ruguri, organiza expulzări în masă sau holocausturi împotriva ereticilor. Noi n-am avut catedrale, dar nici celelalte... Aveam însă unele lucruri care în alte părți lipseau.

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Criterii de reevaluare a spiritualităţii româneşti în secolul al IX-lea

(Re-evaluating Romanian Spirituality during the Ninth Century)

Abstract: The 9th century has, in the history of the Romanian nation, a greater importance than it is often considered, not only if we analyze the structure of the Romanian vocabulary, but also, as a natural consequence, if we study Romanians' spirituality. In 797, Charles the Great, emperor of the Frankish Kingdom, destroyed the mighty Avar Khaganate, which had its centre in Pannonia and included the present territory of Romania, at least up to the Carpathians. As succesors to the Avars, the Franks imposed their own rule, calling that area 'Pannonian' or 'Avar March.' In the Carolingian Empire, a 'march' represented a system of organizing the newly-conquered domains and had the purpose of 'frankizing' them both formally and structurally speaking, in order to assert their imperial power and their own Church, which was Missionary-Apostolic. Thus, the Carolingian Empire (797-896) meant for the then Romanians a revival of their Latinity, as they perceived an unspoiled pattern in the missionaries' language, unlike the one of their previous Barbarian conquerors. This reaffirmed the Romanians' mother tongue, since the Carolingian Empire itself used it, as previously stated, and through it, confirmed their Latin origins—both of which were handicaps in the Barbarians' view. Their Christian faith was also strengthened, a fact that brought about the oppression or, at lest, the contempt of their former subduers.

Keywords: Romanian vocabulary, Latinity, The Carolingian Empire, The Avar Khaganate, mentality.

Introducere

În urma unei suite de cercetări interdisciplinare, am ajuns la concluzia că secolul al IX-lea are în istoria poporului român o importanţă mai mare decât i se acordă în mod obişnuit, mai ales în ceea ce priveşte structura vocabularului limbii române, dar, desigur, ca o consecinţă firească, şi în ceea ce priveşte spiritualitatea generală românească.

În urmă cu mai mulţi ani, am publicat o cercetare[97] privind impactul Mărcii Panonice create de Imperiul carolingian, realitate pe fondul căreia, în condiţii ce pot fi reconstituite istoric, s-a produs—pentru populaţia romanizată din zonă, adică pentru români—o confirmare a limbii, civilizaţiei şi credinţei de tip romanic, ceea ce, în fapt, a însemnat o 'revigorare a romanizării.'

Analiza

Să urmărim întâi deci, doar prin câteva repere principale, ce se întâmplă în acest secol al IX-lea şi în ce fel aceasta reverberează în structura mentală românească. Vom pleca de la o precizare cu caracter general: aflaţi departe de Roma sau Constantinopol şi supuşi unor vremelnice puteri 'barbare'—nu înseamnă că românii ar fi fost total rupţi de evenimentele de-acolo, tratându-le ca aparţinând unei lumi neinteresante şi care nu i-ar fi privit defel. Românii se simţeau aparţinători civilizaţiei de tip roman, doar că realitatea cotidiană, dominată de stăpânitorii migratori, îi infirma în permanenţă: ca limbă, civilizaţie şi confesiune.

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[97] Cristian Tiberiu Popescu, *BAN – repere cultural-politice pentru istoria unui cuvânt. Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean*. X (Suceava, 1983): 419-429. Print.

Pentru că stăpânitorul migrator se afișa ca adversar al Romei (vechi) și al Noii Rome (Constantinopolul) deopotrivă, și-atunci populația romanică supusă era, firesc, suspicionată a-l 'trăda' în cazul unei confruntări armate cu Imperiul (ceea ce s-a și întâmplat uneori), dat fiind că de acesta din urmă îl lega limba, civilizația asumată, cu ierarhia de valori proprie, și nu în ultimul rând religia creștină, ostilă păgânismului idolatru.

Este de înțeles că atare infirmare din partea stăpânitorului migrator—care viza nici mai mult nici mai puțin decât ceea ce era esențial pentru existența sa—îl făceau pe român să se 'demarcheze' de tot ceea ce reprezenta acela (chiar dacă această atitudine era promovată între 'ai lui,' căci o opoziție fățișă nu era posibilă) și, totodată, îl făceau să se 'țină aproape' de cei din a căror categorie se revendica. Iar acest din urmă deziderat se realiza—la nivel de mase—într-un singur fel: informându-se și ținându-se la curent cu evenimentele majore din Imperiu, lucru realizabil prin călători la sudul ori la nordul Dunării (păstori, negustori sau alte categorii umane).

Nu înseamnă că aceste informații despre ceea ce se petrecea dincolo de Dunăre—la Roma sau la Constantinopol—presupuneau neapărat atitudini asumate la nivel general de adeziune sau respingere, precum nu înseamnă că ceea ce se impunea *acolo* ca soluție oficială era adoptat și *aici*, pentru masa difuză și cu slabă organizare de tip statal a românilor, dar înseamnă că românul, comentându-le și că putând să le înțeleagă, își putea afirma punctual apartenența la o lume pe care o știa 'a lui'. În treacăt fie spus, așa vor fi stat lucrurile și în legătură cu disputa dintre iconoclaști și iconoduli, care a durat mai bine de un secol și care s-a încheiat tocmai în acest secol IX, în 843, prin neutralizarea definitivă a iconoclasmului. Ne putem gândi (documentele oricum tac) că *ecouri* ale acestei dispute dintre iconoclaști și iconoduli vor fi fost receptate și la nordul Dunării, dar este greu de crezut că disputele s-ar fi extins ca atare și aici și că ar fi divizat populația românească, deoarece credința românului a fost pe tot parcursul istoriei sale una simplă, pentru care detaliile teologice erau superflue, așa fel încât mentalitatea sa l-a ținut mereu *departe de disputele dogmatice pentru care nu avea argumente nici pro nici contra* și, în consecință, l-a ținut departe de secte ori erezii. Pe de altă parte însă nu trebuie trecut ușor peste faptul că Roma a condamnat iconoclasmul unor împărați ai Bizanțului, astfel că relațiile dintre Prima Romă și Cea de-a doua s-au deteriorat mereu mai mult, mai ales că împăratul iconoclast Leon III Isaurul, cel care a declanșat iconoclasmul, sfidează Roma luându-i Iliricul de sub jurisdicție și trecându-l sub autoritatea Constantinopolului (733). În deceniile ce vor urma, papalitatea va conștientiza faptul că are neapărată nevoie de protecție politică, doar că regatele creștine ale Europei occidentale erau într-o continuă dispută unele cu altele și nici unul nu se ridica la cerințele unei autoritare misiuni proteguitoare. Aceasta până când regele Carol cel Mare a pus bazele unui puternic stat franc, întins pe jumătate de continent. În ultimele zile ale celei de-a IX-a sută de ani ai erei creștine, de Crăciunul anului 800, papa Leon III a găsit oportunitatea dorită și, în timpul liturghiei la care participa regele, i-a așezat pe cap coroana și l-a numit 'împărat și august.' Cronicarul afirmă că pontiful l-a luat prin surprindere, Carol dându-și seama de multiplele ostilități ce decurgeau de aici, el declarând apropiaților că dacă ar fi știut ce se va întâmpla nu ar fi intrat atunci în biserică (cf. Eginhard 131). Cert este că papa și-a asigurat cea mai eficientă protecție, dar titlul de 'împărat' al lui Carol va fi sursa unor mari tensiuni cu Bizanțul, al cărui monarh se considera singurul îndreptățit să poarte acest titlu, pe care-l dădea doar tradiția, iar nu simpla lățire a propriului teritoriu. Cu sau fără acest titlu, Carol era însă 'stăpânul Occidentului,' pe care-l cucerise aproape în întregime, în urma unor războaie grele.

Chiar cu puțină vreme înainte de încoronarea de la Roma, Carol distrusese, în urma unui război de opt ani, puternicul **stat avar** (cf. Eginhard 87), ce-și avea centrul în Panonia și, înglobându-i teritoriul în propria stăpânire, instituise "Marca avarică" sau "panonică." Sub stăpânirea avară (cf. Popescu, *Istoria* 49, 129) s-au produs mutații foarte importante privind viața social-politică și economică românească. Aceștia, sedentarizați la nivelul unei singure "țări," un unic areal în cadrul căruia își puteau muta așezările, erau

stăpânii unui "imperiu," mult mai întins decât arealul pe care l-am pomenit și în care trăiau neavari supuși "cuceririlor" haganului.

Pentru acești supuși (e vorba în principal de populația romanizată), alți migratori aplicaseră *altădată* principiul 'deșertizării,' care consta în incursiunea pentru jaf, în cadrul căreia se jefuia tot ce putea fi transportat, pe când celelalte bunuri erau distruse în mod sistematic, iar oamenii uciși sau luați sclavi. 'Deșertizarea' lăsa oamenilor asupra cărora se aplica numai varianta de a fugi din calea cetelor năvălitoare și a se ascunde împreună cu bunurile mobile adunate în pripă. Iată însă că avarii au impus alt principiu, cel tributar, consemnat astfel într-un text de epocă: "Ieșiți, semănați și secerați, noi vă vom lua numai jumătate ca dare" (Sirianul qtd. in *Istoria României* 720). Acest "vă vom lua" se realiza în fapt prin însărcinați speciali ai haganului, delegați pentru colectarea tributului. Nicolae Iorga aduce importanta precizare că avarii nu au inventat pur și simplu formula cu exercitarea stăpânirii prin perceperea tributului, ci doar au pus în operă un vechi sistem turcic (cf. Iorga, *Istoria* 315), pe care triburi aparținătoare acestei etnii îl aplicau atunci când se sedentarizau la nivelul unei singure "țări" (cazul avarilor, din momentul stabilirii centrului puterii lor în Panonia), dar care era neaplicabil dacă stadiul de total migrator nu fusese depășit (cazul hunilor).

Numărul celor care au răspuns noii formule propuse de avari putem crede că a fost în cele din urmă precumpănitor, pentru că omul a preferat să revină din pribegia din luminișurile pădurilor sau de la munte, pe vechile terenuri agricole mănoase, care le asigurau o viață mai îmbelșugată, chiar dacă, la vremea culesului, trimișii stăpânitorului avar le înjumătățeau recolta. *Acest moment a fost de o importanță covârșitoare și de aceea insist asupra lui*.

'Formula avară' a adus un plus de liniște și siguranță omului obișnuit să trăiască din munca lui, a omului care—hăituit și vânat—era condamnat la înfometare. Sigur că înțelegerea propusă de avari era spoliatoare, dar un calcul elementar arată că e preferabil să dai jumătate din ceea ce ești îndreptățit să poți dobândi, străduindu-te să dobândești cât mai mult, ca să-ți rămână cât mai mult, decât să nu dai nimic din ceea ce oricum nu ai (pentru că nu trebuie uitat faptul că, față de 'deșertizarea' practicată înainte de ceilalți stăpânitori vremelnici, soluția de supraviețuire identificată de români fusese fuga spre luminișurile pădurilor și spre munte, unde-și înjghebau o țarină improprie, capabilă să le dea recolte doar simbolice, așa fel încât adesea oamenii erau nevoiți să mănânce jir, măturică ori coajă de copac). Impunând birul, tributul, "darea" (varietatea sinonimică e grăitoare pentru împovărarea la care diverși stăpânitori vremelnici îi vor supune secolele de-a rândul pe români), avarii promovează un neologism în limba română a momentului, căci românescul bir își are rădăcina în cuvântul vechi turcic *bérmek*, având tocmai sensul de "a da" ("... vă vom lua numai jumătate ca dare") (Nicoară and Beldiceanu 2-4).[98]

'Formula avară' era din punct de vedere economic benefică, asigurându-le românilor acea stabilitate și siguranță a existenței, chiar dacă, sub alte aspecte, statutul lor nu se schimba radical, în sensul că ei rămâneau a aparține unei categorii inferioare în raport cu stăpânitorul, care, din punctul de vedere al etniei, limbii și confesiunii, impunea alte 'măsuri ale lucrurilor,' în raport cu care românii erau excluși. Și totuși este un mare pas înainte, o acumulare benefică pentru propriul statut, cu repercusiuni asupra mentalității, care de acum înainte va include repere emanând din mai multa siguranță fizică a persoanei și stabilitate. Arheologia a constatat o "dezvoltare economică apreciabilă" (Olteanu 82) începând din secolul al VIII-lea, pe care o pune pe seama evoluției demografice fără însă a identifica acele mutații fundamentale care au făcut posibilă aceasta. Noua stare de lucruri a produs, cum am spus, **mutații majore în viața românului, cu efecte, desigur, diverse și în planul mentalităților**. O astfel de mutație s-a concretizat în

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[98] În general se acceptă ideea că acest cuvânt a fost preluat de la alte popoare turcice–pecenegii sau cumanii–deci câteva secole mai târziu, vd. Nicoară și Irène Beldiceanu, *Note asupra birului, câtorva dregătorii din Principate și robilor tătari*, în "Buletinul Bibliotecii Române," Freiburg, serie nouă, vol. XIII, 1986, p. 2-4. Este însă de neînțeles ca instituția să fi funcționat câteva secole sub avari și să fi căpătat nume abia sub pecenegi sau cumani, aceștia din urmă oferind de fapt una și aceeași noțiune cu frații lor avari.

soluția renunțării la stăpânirea în devălmășie a pământurilor obștii și intrarea loturilor în proprietatea definitivă a familiilor, dat fiind că plata birului responsabiliza concret fiecare familie, or acestea voiau să știe sigur pe ce contează (cf. Popescu, *Istoria* 129-130).[99] *Soluția aceasta a reprezentat o abdicare față de principiile tradiționale ale obștii și*, se va vedea în timp, ea va avea repercursiuni semnificative, așa cum au avut toate abdicările față de respectivele principii—de fiecare dată, cu impact major asupra mentalității.

A doua mutație majoră s-a concretizat într-o *nouă coagulare social-politică a societății românești*, deoarece strângerea birului presupunea, pentru eficiență, structuri teritoriale mai mari. Așa s-au impus uniunile de obști conduse de un singur cneaz, cel cu care 'tratau' trimișii stăpânirii avare. La reședința acestuia se strângea birul de la toate obștile subsumate uniunii respective, în vederea predării lui. Birul (grânele și animalele) trebuia depozitat într-un 'loc sigur' și păzit cu strășnicie: *astfel apar 'cetatea' cneazului și 'oastea' sa*.

Desigur, date fiind noile raporturi, stăpânirea avară va fi fost preferabilă altor stăpâniri anterioare. Stăpânirii avare, așa cum menționam mai sus, i-a succedat—în urma unui război sângeros care s-a încheiat în 797—*stăpânirea carolingiană*, aceasta instituind "Marca panonică" pe teritoriul cucerit.

În cadrul Imperiului carolingian, o 'marcă' reprezenta o formă de organizare a teritoriilor nou cucerite (au funcționat și o Marcă hispanică ori una saxonică), ce trebuia să îndeplinească rolul de a 'franciza' aceste teritorii, adică de a le face nu doar formal, ci și structural 'france,' corespunzând acelorași criterii de *organizare administrativă*, pentru impunerea puterii imperiale, și de *confesiune (creștină)*, căci Biserica imperiului se declara apostolic-misionară. Pentru a asigura impunerea celor două criterii, marca era plasată sub o dublă autoritate, emanând de la doi *missi dominici*, trimiși speciali ai împăratului. Primul, un conte al imperiului, era un fel de *guvernator al mărcii*, însărcinat cu implantarea instituțiilor carolingiene, cu organizarea provinciei, cu strângerea dărilor și, în caz de pericol, cu adunarea și organizarea unei armate. Cel de-al doilea, un *episcop*, se considera a fi nu doar trimisul împăratului, ci și trimisul Bisericii, el având sarcina aducerii pe drumul credinței creștine a tuturor locuitorilor mărcii (care de obicei erau păgâni), dar, nu mai puțin important, de a asigura, prin misionari, și creștinarea populațiilor de dincolo de hotarele mărcii.

Hotarele Mărcii panonice sunt greu de reconstituit astăzi; cert este că românii trăiau atât în Panonia propriu-zisă (unde-i vor găsi ungurii ceva mai târziu (Anonymus 32)[100] și unde-i atestă cronicarul Nestor (*Cronica* 38), dar și, bineînțeles, în Transilvania și în celelalte țări române—teritorii limitrofe Imperiului și rezervate astfel misionarilor de care am pomenit.

Ce întâlneau acești misionari acolo? Întâlneau segmente de populații foste migratoare (acum cvasisedentarizate), precum slavi sau bulgari—cu toții păgâni; dar întâlneau asemenea—ca **populație majoritară!**—români, puternic diferențiați de ceilalți prin tipul de civilizație, obiceiuri și confesiunea creștină[101] și cu care se puteau înțelege ușor, căci limba latină a misionarilor era apropiată de 'latina

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[99] A se vedea și Eugenia Zaharia, *Rolul istoric al obștilor sătești. Contribuție la cunoașterea istoriei românilor în mileniul I*, în "Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis," Vaslui, an II, 1980, p. 133, care plasează instituirea proprietății particulare asupra pământului în această perioadă.

[100] Așa cum arăta N. Drăganu, [*Ancienneté et expansion des Roumains d'après la toponymie l'onomastique et la langue*, în "Bakcania," Buc., VI (1943), p. 428], până în secolul al VIII-lea, limba romană din Panonia s-a format sub aceleași influențe ilirice și mesiene ca limba românăa celor două Mesii și a Daciei.

[101] Desigur, impactul direct al Imperiului carolingian, exponentul confesional al Papei, a avut o importanță majoră, instituind jurisdicția *de facto* a Romei, în detrimentul celei *de jure* a Constantinopolului, așa cum fusese impusă ea la 733, prin voința lui Leon III Isaurul, de care am amintit mai sus. De altfel, ceva mai târziu, atunci când Imperiul carolingian nu-și mai poate impune singur voința în zonă, Roma apelează la 'înțelegere', delegatul ei la cel de-al VIII-lea Conciliu ecumenic (Constantinopol, 879-880) solicitând ca Dardania, Dacia și toate provinciile dunărene să fie sub jurisdicția Romei *așa cum au fost din totdeauna* (Migne, Patrologia latina, vol. CXXIX, p. 20 și urm.)

vulgară'[102] vorbită aici, în al cărui vocabular încă nu pătrunsese 'treimea' (sau cincimea, după alții) 'slavă'.[103] Secolul impactului carolingian—de la organizarea Mărcii panonice imediat după înfrângerea avarilor, până la venirea ungurilor și instalarea lor în Panonia (aprox. 896) – a reprezentat în condițiile respective o *revigorare a latinității limbii*, pentru că latina misionarilor era pentru români un model de păstrare nealterată a limbii, atrăgând automat atenția asupra inovațiilor de vocabular făcute sub influența diferitelor stăpâniri barbare anterioare.

Pentru români în general, aflați acum într-un moment de răscruce al existenței lor (cf. Nestor 371-372)[104] și mai ales pentru instituirea unor noi baze ale spiritualității lor, activitatea misionarilor carolingieni a constituit un eveniment de mare importanță (cf Iorga, *La Place* 101-105)[105]. Se produce cu acest prilej o *confirmare* a românului sub aspect *etno-lingvistic* și confesional. Este vorba de faptul că, prima dată după sute de ani, o stăpânire străină îi confirmă românului limba maternă, odată ce ea însăși o folosește (în Biserică și activitatea misionară), și prin ea îi confirmă etnia latină—până atunci, amândouă, handicapuri, din punctul de vedere al stăpânului barbar; și totodată, îi confirmă credința creștină, pentru care barbarul îl reprimase sau măcar îl disprețuise. *Față de acumularea produsă în momentul instituirii 'formulei avare', cu repercusiunile ei spectaculoase, de care am amintit, 'confirmările' asigurate de impactul misionarismului carolingian constituie imboldul care-l plasează pe român pe un alt palier al evoluției sale istorice, creându-i noi repere mentale privind, înainte de toate, propriul său statut.*

Prima sinteză de mentalitate românească se caracterizează, în aspectul ei cel mai general, prin marea capacitate de rezistență, asigurată prin structurile organice ale obștii țărănești, neschimbate esențial, și de filosofia devălmășiei emanată din ea. Astfel, în prima sinteză, *manifestarea generală a mentalității era defensivă*: structura organizatorică proprie, spiritualitatea și, asemenea, entitatea fizică trebuiau apărate și prezervate. Totul se subsuma imperativului supraviețuirii. Mentalitatea respectivă spune că marea virtute este să înțelegi exact cum stau lucrurile și să înțelegi, în consecință, propriul statut, propria condiție.

Spre deosebire de aceasta, în succesiunea 'formulei avare' și pe fondul 'confirmărilor' secolului carolingian, mentalitatea—structurată esențial pe necesitatea rezistenței și a supraviețuirii—a început să se reedifice, așa fel încât s-a putut ajunge ceva mai târziu la manifestarea concretă și plenară a unei mentalități ofensive. Când a avut loc acest proces? Acestei întrebări greu i se poate răspunde, ci mai curând se poate stabili doar un termen post quem: în secolul al IX-lea, procesul de transformări care va avea ca rezultat instituirea celei de-a doua sinteze de mentalitate românească începuse deja.

Pentru cea de-a doua sinteză, obștea țărănească va fi—asemenea—elementul esențial pe care se edifică totul. Este una și aceeași *obște care a rezistat și a acumulat și pentru care a venit timpul roditului*. Mentalitatea ofensivă care se va manifesta în cadrul celei de-a doua sinteze din ce în ce mai evident reprezintă un 'spirit nou' de emancipare și afirmare ce manifestă o continuă *creștere generală*.

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[102] Dat fiind faptul că latina dunăreană se afla încă la începutul evoluției sale și la mai bine de o mie de ani de româna de azi.

[103] Care se impune abia începând din secolul al X-lea.

[104] Este tocmai momentul în care, după o perioadă de cultură de factură romană târzie, populația autohtonă trece la etapa 'veche românească', dominată de cultura Dridu – vd. Ion Nestor, *Contribution archéologique au problème des Proto-Ruomains*, La civilisation de Dridu, în "Dacia," N.S., II, 1958, p. 371-372. Print.

[105] Vd. aprecierea lui N. Iorga (printre foarte puținii istorici români atenți la acest aspect) privitoare la importanța momentului carolingian pentru romanitatea nord-dunăreană în ansamblul ei – *La Place des Roumains dans l'histoire universelle*, vol. I, București., 1935, p. 101-105. Print.

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Globalization—Direct and Indirect Effects on Terminologies

Abstract: The rapid globalization in the second half of the 20th century, promoting a certain set of material and monetary values, left deep imprints not only on the economic life, but also on the cultural phenomena, including terminology. The uniform distribution and the generalized use of some concepts, ideas and values, are imposing trends in communicational behaviours and—for this reason—a certain level of standardization. One can describe the effects of this process on Romanian terminologies both in terms of formal equivalents in different languages, and in a semantic and pragmatic perspective. The adapted neologisms and the generalized use of lexical structures of English origin, the wide spread of Anglicisms are direct effects. One of the indirect effects is the current standardization of terminologies and of definitions in sciences (including the political ones), but also in trade, services, industry or electronic communication.

Keywords: terminology, standardization, formal level, Anglicisms, globalization.

1. Globalization and Terminologies

There are not many different views about globalization (and language), nevertheless there are some stereotypical assumptions about its linguistic effects. The aim of this paper is not to advocate a specific point of view about linguistic globalization, but to help to review, reflect and discuss different aspects and the associated issues. My objective is also to bring to the reader's awareness strong and documented assertions about globalization, as the following one, found in Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*: "Globalization does not necessarily or even frequently imply homogenization or Americanization, and to the extent that different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently, there is still ample room for the deep study of specific geographies, histories, and languages" (Appadurai 17).

In a famous interview from 1999 for the BBC, Giddens was putting into question the term *globalization* itself, by considering it as relatively new, as in the 1980s nobody had heard of it or was very rarely used. Giddens was overlooking its genesis and was asserting that the term had appeared from nowhere and still was everywhere. Globalization was indeed already very popular, and it was not surprising, said Giddens, that for this reason it had no determined meaning and it was not clear in all contexts, and even at that time its use had stirred an intellectual rejection.

My main concern is to verify the truth of the following sentence: rather than the globalization shaping the terminologies, it is new concepts and terms flourishing in contemporary science that do so. Nevertheless, terminologies are becoming global in two directions: a) horizontal, across geography limitations, languages and cultures, and b) vertical, across social and cultural boundaries. The links between those two directions are complex and characterized by the two-way dynamics.

Considering the linguistic level, the outcome of globalization could be identified in a transparent process, and this is almost obvious. Discussing its implications is a different matter, and identifying its advantages and disadvantages could be more difficult. Nevertheless, the facts, the development and the implementation of new technologies and new terminologies are leading to the awareness that we have to deal with a communication issue, to be approached in a pragmatic perspective.

As communication is a process whereby knowledge is shared between individual and/or groups, we will be interested in terminology as a vehicle to transfer meaning and information. Different systems of communication need different vehicles, and this is the main reason why formulas, conventional names, acronyms are suitable and desirable for technical and scientific discourse, for organizational communication. Those are 'perfect' tools.

In a vision related to lexicology and semantics and general phenomena (polysemy, homonymy et cetera), terminology is an 'imperfect' tool.

Communication through terminologies must ensure some feature of transmitted information. For these reasons, terminologies have to be reliable, clear, consistent, concise, unambiguous, efficient, complete, and verified by experts in each field.

At this point, I have to introduce in the discourse the question of specialized jargons, i.e. the information technology (IT) jargon. If for a non-native English speaker understanding terms as: cookie, hacker, jpeg, megabytes, PDF, worm, can reveal itself a real problem, the case is similar even for many English native speakers who complain about computer language, regarded as a foreign language.

In Microsoft Press (1997) the term .pdf has been given only an explanation, without any equivalent being proposed in Romanian: "Extensia de fişier care identifică documentele codificate în formatul Portable Document Format, creat de Adobe Systems."[106]

Another important point in studying terminologies in specialized communication is the stylistic level or the type of discourse: a letter, a conference, a newsletter, a phone conversation will need different terminological tools. For instance, medical personnel and doctors use a jargon in oral communication, but a specific language in scientific meetings, in written papers, conferences or textbooks.

The implication of globalization for the linguistic level of different languages may be described in terms of linguistic policy and traditional attitude to language 'purity' or 'national specific.' The efforts of the France state specialized institutions to promote the creation of new terminologies according to historical patterns and paradigms, and to banish English loans or Anglicisms, are well-known. This policy is rooted in the 'défence de la langue français' claimed by Renaissance poets and in the cultural supremacy of the French state, even in terms of science and terminology.

If globalization is in fact Anglicisation, we assist, at the same time, at a (global) policy aimed at developing terminologies in national languages, especially the ones of Latin descent: the "Union Latine" created (in 1954 but functional only since 1983) to promote internal terminology and neology in neo-Latin languages. Meanwhile, the financial crisis put an end to the organization's first configuration (of 26 member states) in 2012, even though the principles of its foundation remain valuable.

The increased pace of globalization has meant that organizations face far greater competition than in the previous decades, and one way to ensure that they remain competitive is to concentrate on standardization and internationalization of terms and procedures. The need for clear and comprehensive terminological sources has also increased, along with the spread of English use and of multilingualism. In this paper, as I set aside considerations whether this context is ethical, if it benefits to languages or cultures and focus on examining the effects, I found compelling a short overview of the phenomenon, even obligatory to understand the general framework. Globalization being about facts and things in the world around us, natural languages are exposed to it and are reflecting in complex ways the correspondences with it.

The expansion of regulation in the European Union has dramatic effects on national terminologies in Member States as well. As a result, human resources has become a focus element in the general strategies for competitiveness. For some time, academia and even industry have concentrated on the debate if new technologies should have national equivalents for each field.

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[106] The file extension that identifies the documents codified in the Portable Document Format created by the Adobe Systems

In Romania, for instance, AGIR [GARE] (the General Association of Romanian Engineers) and the Academy of Sciences (Academia de Ştiinţe) have lately elaborated and published the DEX-ŞT, a guide in electro technical terminology, in order to standardize, to officially grant the validity of terms related to this field. The Terminology Commission for Sciences, within the Romanian Academy, had published a total of 40 explanatory dictionaries until 2007, unfortunately small sized, where the descriptors (accompanied by synonyms that they could have) are followed by the equivalents in various international languages.

It seems that standards and formalization have become increasingly complex in the post-modern society, despite the fact that tolerance and ambiguity are the accepted sides of life and human activity, as opposed to the veneration for absolutes.

In fact, when referring to the generalization of Anglicisms or, at least, of loans or lexical patterns of English origin, we should not ignore that this phenomenon has been historically generated by the economic, financial (and military) supremacy of the Western civilization, expressed in percentages in terms of foreign investments (Jones 299). We could see from the classification of multinationals at the beginning of the 21st century that the most important investments are coming from the English-speaking states (the USA and the United Kingdom), a phenomenon that is the continuation of the economic supremacy of firms established by British entrepreneurs in the territories of the ex-British Empire. Jones is one of the authors who identified a first globalization already in the 19th century (17). He listed the advantages of cultural proximity as a main factor determining investments in a certain territory, which makes the largest foreign investments of corporations from the USA to be in Canada and in the United Kingdom. These investments are consequently a bridge to the other Member States of the European Union.

To complete the picture offered by the economic data, one needs to remember that international institutions—most of them created after the WWII—are contributing to the status of English through its role as working language, in some cases as the only official language: the Organization of the United Nations (the UN), the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (the NATO), the World Health Organization (the WHO), the International Standard Organization (the ISO) and the World Trade Organization (the WTO).

The fact is that in the European Union there are already some recent case-laws and decisions of the Court of Justice in Luxemburg related to Anglicisms and the use of English (especially in trade-marks).

It is obvious that the terminologies, as extra linguistically determined, are influenced by globalization. From the concepts in economy, technical and scientific fields, banking, electronic communication, where new meanings are created, global trends also involve the signifiers, the lexical units. Specialized communication, research, international treaties impose—and this happens on an everyday basis— terminologies put into life by authors using English language.

In the narrower context of the European Union, authors are already discussing and exploring the globalization of the terminologies (Busuioc and Cucu). As for the 'language of globalization,' this undoubtedly is English, evidence of present times as outlined by many studies in sociolinguistics or statistics (Călăraşu; Stoichiţoiu-Ichim; Coupland).

2. New Vocabulary Items: Direct Effects—or Lexical Level Effects

The basic notion is that the external world, the world of objects, is related to words, to the lexicon, in terms of reference in pragmatics theory (Carlson 2006). Moreover, this relationship is obvious in terminologies, and as I have first mentioned, I intend to enlarge the field of investigations to terminology, given that the linguists have focused almost exclusively on revealing the impact of globalization on natural languages lexicon.

I will attempt to examine three domains: medical, electro technical, and banking.

Element level effects can be assessed as damaging for individual national languages, as some (nationalist) publicists claim that they are 'corrupting' the 'purity' of those languages. But they can be considered also as beneficial effects, as they are enriching the individual languages.

For the adepts of the 'linguistic imperialism' type of defining globalization, these effects are quantified and qualified as negative and dangerous. The fact is that in certain situations (everyday conversation, electronic communication, experts environment) the discourse could seem to play with two identities (local and global). This 'code-switching' between two languages could also be explained through the influence of cultural media devices. It could be seen only in extremis as threatening the national, local cultures and languages. For instance, some publicists writing for the Romanian popular media are complaining about the new language ('romgleza'). They are followed by the general opinion; their impressions are spread and repeated by non-linguists. On the other side, linguists are aware of the impact English has on Romanian vocabulary and terminologies, they are developing ideas about the extent of this phenomenon, but they are not reacting in the manner the 'popular' journalists do: Avram (1997), Stoichiţoiu-Ichim (2004), Zafiu (2006).

The equilibrium is expressed wonderfully by Avram, as she argues that the phenomenon is not new in Romanian and not a negative phenomenon in itself (as it is producing benefits, through stressing the Latin character of our language). Avram offers various perspectives on Anglicisms and sees the danger only in the fact that those words are not adapted to the Romanian structure and are kept in their original orthography even in workings dealing with language standardization.

However, there are some objections to the inquiry conducted by (Romanian) linguists, chiefly by Avram, and the main one is that they are ignoring terminologies and are focusing exclusively on common language use and vocabulary.

2.1. Loan Words. Technological Changes that Have Brought Globalization.

As most Romanian linguists analyzed colloquial and mass-media language, but (except Stoichiţoiu-Ichim) not scientific language or terminologies, the explanation is to be found in the fact that linguists addressed only randomly special terminologies. However, listening to the specialists' voice and opinions, expressed especially in dictionaries prefaces, we will see that lexicology-lexicography on the one hand, and terminology on the other hand, are raising different questions, that both those fields of linguistics are operating with and are observing different sets of rules. The common ground where their activities are really crossing is semantics.

The president of the Romanian Academy, Ionel Haiduc, insists in the preface of the dictionary on the difference between linguists, experts in common language, and scientists, experts in scientific terminologies: "Uneori termeni comuni sunt adaptaţi pentru a descrie sensuri noi în ştiinţă, ceea ce poate genera confuzii grave pentru lingvistul familiarizat cu limbajul comun, dar nu şi cu noua terminologie ştiinţifică (DEX-ŞT: VII)."[107]

He is in fact stressing the pragmatic notion of reference. If two or more phrases have the same reference, it is not true that they have the same meaning (Carlson 78). The meaning is a convention and is given by how experts use phrases in a specific field.

These are in fact the shortcomings of a linguistic approach (i.e. lexicological), based on a limited knowledge of common vocabulary and meanings, that ignores the new semantic developments of those common words in science. Haiduc was addressing both creating new terms and underlining certain consequences, the dramatic confusion generated by an approach that is operating with formal linguistic tools, but with no sufficient information about science.

Related to this observation, I have to add another one that will express the effect of globalization on the link between common language and scientific terminologies, and the current dynamics of terminologies and the public conscience. Obviously, the pragmatic side of terminologies, through useful

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[107] Sometimes common terms are adapted to describe new meanings in science, a fact that may cause serious confusions for the linguist who is only accustomed to the common language, not with the new scientific terminology

and unique definitions, is illustrated in defining concepts and not words, in the influence of terminologies on knowledge.

It is very important to note that new terms in Romanian are not only of English origin, they are borrowed from French or German.

For instance, terminology in DEX-ȘT can be classified by linguists, from an etymological perspective, according to:

*multiple origin, with a Latin root: admitanță—Eng. admittance, Fr. admittance;

*analizor—Eng. analyzer, Fr. analyseur;

-antenă brad, with a recommended synonym: antenă os de pește—Eng. Fishbone; antenna, Fr. antenne en arrêt de poisson;

-antenă cu vârf rotitor [basic term], recommended synonym: antenă cu câmp rotitor; antenă cu câmp învârtitor—rotating-field antenna, Fr. antenne à champ tournant;

*English origin (where the core of the nominal group is of multiple origins): antenă microstrip—Eng. microstrip antenna, Fr. antenne microruban;

*French origin (where the core of the nominal group is of multiple origins): antenă fluture—Eng. bat-wing antenna, Fr. antenne papillon; antenă lumânare—Eng. dielectric rod-radiator, Fr. antenne (en) cierge.

Creativity in scientific terminology could be illustrated by the fact that one descriptor (for this demonstration: antenă), becomes the centre of various nominal groups (NPs). Antenă is listed in this dictionary in 169 entries, which I would classify as follows:

*NPs with a single determinant, the most frequent one: ~ antiparazit; ~ cu contragreutate; ~ exploratoare; ~ multibandă; ~ parabolică; ~ superturnichet

*NGs with two determinants, that are:

–in a metaphorical relation, linked directly to the center: ~ canal de undă

-in cascade, with two-level determinants: ~ cu alimentare la mijloc; ~ cu prelucrare a semnalului; cu suprafeţe radiante; ~ de bandă largă; ~ independentă de frecvenţă; ~ în (formă de) T; ~ în V răsturnat;

–directly linked (~ cu încărcare serie),

*NGs with three determinants: ~ cu lob principal modelat; (~) horn sectorial cu reflector parabolic.

Beside these structures, there are also terms where the centre antenă is not mandatory, and it could be replaced by a synonym: (~) dipol; (~) horn circular multimod; (~) horn multimod; (~) perdea de dipoli; (~) reţea conică; (~) reţea plană; (~) unipol.

As for the term *antenă turnichet*, having as recommended synonym *antenă turnantă*, its origin is Fr. *antenne tourniquet* (and not the Eng. *turnstile antenna*).

Regarding the term *horn*, a descriptor in Romanian, its origin is clearly the Eng. *horn (antenna)*, and not the Fr. cornet, visible in its synonym, *antenă (în formă de) cornet*. Less preferred that *cornet*, the term *horn* does not seem a happy solution for the linguistic perspective. However, for the linguists' distress, the dictionary also offers a term as *antenă cu cornet*, and its recommended synonym *antenă roată de cașcaval*, Eng. *cheese antenna*, Fr. *antenne fromage*. The metaphor is unique, throwing away the old assertion that technical language is not subjective!

Having worked for the banking glossary (Bara 2007) on specific European Union legal texts, on European Central Bank guidelines, and in cooperation with experts from the National Bank of Romania, I could testify about the depth of Anglicisms phenomenon in this field. If the foundations of Romanian

banking terminology are to be discovered in the 19th century, in French inspired terminology, nowadays the current trend is to adopt English terms, as in other domains. Banking terms as: *operaţiuni swap, discount, operaţiune openmarket, poziţii "out-of-the-money," poziţie spot, rată spread, contract de repo*, et cetera, are used in official and legal publications, alongside terms that are acronyms for complex terms: *instrumente financiare derivate tranzacţionate pe OTC* (where OTC stands for: Over-the-Counter), *sistem TARGET, sistem RTGS* et cetera. It is almost rare to have a Romanian synonym, as *operaţiune de report, operaţiune reversibilă,* for *operaţiune repo*.

The methodological difficulties encountered in designing research in this direction are significant, despite the fact that the linguistic analysis has displayed the existence of those phenomena and has given them special treatment. The language globalization is experienced and presented by linguists as omnipresent (e.g. Avram 1997, Görlach 2005, Coupland 2010), and their attitude, their related reactions are stretching from acceptance, 'descriptive neutrality,' to (normative) action.

Some of these intricate aspects have been addressed in the international conference *Anglicisms in Europe*, held at the University of Regensburg in Germany (for the link to the abstracts, see Zafiu 2006). No survey of the linguistic effects of globalization would be complete without a look at the conclusions of the participants at this conference. Consequence of the European countries growing closeness, communication between them is giving English a key role as Lingua Franca. Authors from different countries gathered to discuss from pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches the attitude toward this phenomenon, in terms of language policy, as well as specific terminologies in certain fields (banking, sports, media and advertising, IT) or the youth slang (names of clothes, drinks, music, and food products). Some of the effects identified in language use were related to:

*choosing English (global) names for (local, national) companies as a means to impress clients by producing a successful image;
*the formation and use of shortenings (abbreviations, acronyms) in sciences, in order to facilitate communication;
*the impact of scientific shortenings on common language;
*the linguistic influence, from simple loans to the syntactic level;
*the stylistic and pragmatic motivation to use a language with prestige and expressiveness, as a mark of modernity, urbanity and internationalization, even through code-switching in every day conversation.

2.2. Anglicisms and Their Adaptation to Romanian Language Norms

Anglicisms could be defined as one global *signifier* for a universal *signified*.

A pragmatic perspective on the quantity of relevant information necessary to be delivered within each sentence, the principles of clarity and brevity that underdetermine the scientific communication explain in fact that both adjectives *hard* and *soft* entered the Romanian language through the IT terminology. Those adjectives are used, in pair, at present in mass-media: *ştire hard* (hard news) and *ştire soft* (soft news), *informaţie hard* (hard information) and *informaţie soft* (soft information), *relatare hard* (hard report) and *relatare soft* (soft report), as well as in non translated phrases in political sciences texts, in defence and security studies: *hard power* and *soft power*. Nevertheless, they are translated in certain texts as: *putere hard*, *putere soft* and, recently, *putere smart* (smart power)—translated as *putere inteligentă* (Măgureanu). In fact, the smartpower is the name for a recent strategy created by the Obama administration, combining the two previous strategies (tough policy exerted through coercion and violence; the ability to exert power through seduction and persuasion). One could assert that at this moment China is implementing the soft power strategy, facilitating its economic influence.

In her normative dictionary, Ioana Vintilă-Rădulescu (2009) accepted a long list of new words of English origin, not all of them special terms, but all those words being used by Romanian speakers and writers for more than a decade. Those words were not included in the last edition of the academic dictionary DOOM (2005), nor in the revised edition of DEX (2009). A short list would be worth to underline their pragmatic importance: *ATM, cache, DVD, IBAN, ISBN, ISSN, killer, sitcom, USB, waterproof, WC, web, wireless, workshop, zoom*. Pleading for the morphological adaptation of Anglicisms, Vintilă-Rădulescu recommends the right manner to write their plural forms: *boarduri, clickuri, gadgeturi, itemuri, trenduri, weekenduri, but show-uri, party-uri, story-uri*. In other cases, older Anglicisms (or words of different origins) being already phonetically adapted, it is considered right to treat them morphologically, for their plural, according to the vowel alternations specific in Romanian words: *adidași, bodyguarzi* or *bodigarzi, boși, brokeri, dealeri, rackeți, wați, paparazzi*. In fact, this graphic solution is already sanctioned by generalized use.

Despite Avram's conservative view that Anglicisms must be adapted to Romanian morphological and phonetic patterns, Vintilă-Rădulescu is considering Anglicisms in an open and pragmatic approach focusing on them in a special insert. She is quoting both adapted loans from English to the Romanian linguistic system (*a salubriza, a socializa*) given the facility, in some cases, to assimilate them (*master, server, sponsor, trend*), and their high frequency in communication. Vintilă-Rădulescu prefers to stress the importance for those words to be used according to Romanian rules, in written and spoken language (*dealer, mass-media, mouse, on-line, talk-show, trade-center, et cetera*), rather than complain about the etymological trend.

In line with this last opinion, Zafiu (2006) was aware that writing Anglicisms was under the influence of an old rule for neologisms in Romanian, that treated them as foreign words and spelled them as in the original language. Nevertheless, for a relatively short period, Romanian linguists were preaching that the correct way to write neologisms must be their phonetic image (aisberg instead of iceberg), but this trend came to an end after the year 1990.

2.3. International Abbreviations and Acronyms

There has to be considered, for pragmatic reasons, that in medical terminology—at least in the excellent dictionary I am referring to (Rusu 2007)—one can find the greatest number of such shortenings, i.e.: *celule APUD* or *sistem APUD* (Eng. *Amin Precursor Uptake and Decarboxylation*, translated in Rom. *captarea și decarboxilarea precursorilor aminici*); *stadializare TNM* (Eng. *TNM staging*, where T—*tumoră primară*, N—*noduli limfatici*, M—*metastaze*); YOP (*Yersinia Outer Protein*).

There are currently three editions of this dictionary, and in his introduction to the third one, Rusu's attitude to Anglicism is to accept and to propose more entries. The author informs us that 1651 new entries are enriching the new editions, from which a significant part ("o bună parte") are "neologisme adoptate recent din limba engleză."[108] Rusu is reasoning, as authors from other fields, that (American) English has became a real *lingua franca* and that it dominates medical terminology, deploring at the same time the fact that Romanians who are using English language are modifying medical terminology in an unacceptable way: under the English pressure, Rom. *leziune* is sometimes replaced by *injurie* [Rom. word meaning 'offence'], from Eng. *injury*; and Rom. *stare* (a pacientului) is replaced by *condiție* [Rom. word meaning 'condition'], from Eng. *condition* (of a pacient). It seems that the phenomenon could be explained only through an insufficient knowledge of Romanian terms. As students in medicine are reading and studying more English handbooks, papers et cetera, their acquainttance with English medical terminology is responsible for the fact that they are replacing old Romanian terms with recent ones, as I have illustrated in a study dedicated to Anglicisms in medical language (Bara 2010).

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[108] Neologisms recently adopted from the English language

It also seems that the preference for Anglicisms is due to the young 'cosmopolitan' attitude of having access to and freedom to use this terminology.

As the present paper deals with the distinction between lexicon and terminologies, its focus will be the preference of acronyms in medical language. Abbreviations and symbols are complying with the rule of effective communication and most of them which are used frequently found their origin in English medical terminology (for example: APCKD—adult polycystic kidney disease—boala polichistică renală a adultului; BV—blood vessel—vas sanguin; CPB—cardiopulmonary bypass—circulație extracorporală; HAI —haemagglutination inhibition—inhibare a hemaglutinării; INR—International Normalized Ratio—indice obținut din valoarea timpului de protrombină ridicată la o putere fracționară). Those terms are also extensively used in Romanian medical legislation: EKG, CT, UIV, RRVS, IRM—all of them in the same text (MO 2010) and all of them referred at without the expanded form.

3. Lexical Rules: Indirect Effects—or *System Level* Effects

The fundamental question is whether global terminologies and concepts are already expressed in a universal language. An example of a global concept (and term) is *strategy*, a rather imprecise subject, with a terminology used in politics, academic literature and everyday operations despite its inconsistency. Other terms associated with strategy are: *mission* (purpose and direction), *vision* (desired future), *objective* (what is to be achieved), *policy* (what to do or not to do), *strategic capability* (resources, activities and processes).

Related to the features of a strategy, there is another group of words (adjectives): *sustainable, deliverable, competitive,* et cetera. Even if *sustainable* and *sustainability* are English words of Latin origin (*sus tenere* 'to uphold, or capable of being maintained'), in Romanian they are more likely to be used according to their French equivalents (*durable* and *durabilité*): *durabil, durabiltate*. We must underline that, if in the official documents written in Romanian (especially those published in the Official Journal of the European Union), the French text source is given an undeniable first choice position, in other types of discourse (scientific or informal even in the political field), the general perception is that English terms are increasingly preferred. At this point of our argumentation, it seems necessary to develop the idea and elaborate on this paradox.

3.1. Standardization

This phenomenon could be intuitively detected, at least in the medicine field, terminology is subject to a wide process of standardization through Anglicisms (Bara 2010), user-friendly names for procedures, devices, schemes of treatment, given the benchmarking approach in legislation and the facility to use abbreviated terms (*HIV, INR,* et cetera).

An indirect effect at the level of the linguistic system could be taken into consideration at this point of our discussion, as it is operating at a morphological level. This is a scale effect, noticeable as a result of progressive accumulation, enriching the class of Romanian neutral nouns, whose plural is—*uri*. The Latin inherited words layer is chronologically the first one, where the roots of this class can be found: *arcuri, locuri, mănunchiuri, noduri, ochiuri, prânzuri, rosturi, schimburi* and lately in neologisms created from Latin inherited words: *bunuri, drepturi, straturi, venituri*. The class was constantly enlarged through adapted loans from Slavic languages: *ceaiuri, dealuri, goluri, grajduri, hornuri, lanțuri, nămoluri, oțeluri, poduri, praguri, rânduri, șanțuri, temeiuri, uleiuri*; from Hungarian: *chipuri, gânduri, gâturi, neamuri, sălașuri, tărâmuri, vicleșuguri*; from Modern Greek: *torturi, drumuri, plictisuri, zahăruri*; from Turkish: *dulapuri, iaurturi, tertipuri*; from German: *ștranduri, șuruburi* et cetera.

For instance, all nouns with a final stressed vowel in French are adapted to neutral in Romanian: *barouri, birouri, cadouri, depouri, deșeuri, furouri, godeuri, indigouri, jubileuri, lingouri, loturi, mantouri metrouri, panouri, pleduri, tablouri, tangouri*. French words with a final consonant are equally entering

this class: *acorduri, aeroporturi, apeluri, atacuri, becuri, blocuri, cabluri, cauciucuri, cupluri, elanuri, ghiduri, globuri, grupuri, fluxuri, hoteluri, importuri, impulsuri, împrumuturi, lichioruri, moduri, planuri, porturi, profiluri, profituri, racorduri, raporturi, regimuri, riscuri, roluri, sensuri, şocuri, terenuri, titluri*. Lately, most of Anglicisms are shaped in this morphological pattern, both full lexemes (*backupuri, backgrounduri, banduri, benchmarkuri, bipuri, body-uri, bonusuri, clickuri, feedbackuri, marketuri, mouse-uri, show-uri, trenduri, weekenduri* et cetera), and acronyms (*ABSuri, ATM-uri, PDF-uri, RMN-uri*).

Moreover, special terminologies are sources for this paradigm of Romanian neutral: *airbaguri, aseturi, boomuri, briefinguri, branduri, bypassuri, carduri, clipuri, drafturi, holdinguri, huburi, imputuri, showroomuri, softuri, spoturi, standuri, summituri, thinktankuri, workshopuri*.

3.2. Formalization

This is an epistemological argument, that rests on the development of formulae and symbols in modern sciences (mathematics, chemistry, IT).

Formalization is detectable in medical terminology (Rusu 2007) in the process of creating new terms from a hyperonym (disease, sign, syndrome, or test), by adding the name of a savant, a researcher, an inventor, such as: *Flegel's disease, Larsen-Johansson's disease, Petzetakis' disease, Charles Bell's sign, Siegert's sign, Vincent's sign, Perthes test*.

This indirect standardization is manifest also, for centuries and in no direct link to globalization, in technical terminology in the preference for terms associating a common noun to a personal noun: *cuptor Héroult* (Eng*. direct arc-furnace*)*, cuptor electric cu încălzire directă Girard* (Eng*. Girard furnace*)*, cuptor Martin* (Eng. *open-hearth Martin furnace*)*.*

3.3. The Universal Language

At the same time, loans from English or even Anglicisms—at their turn of French or Latin origins—are consolidating the French layer of loans in Romanian: *abuzuri, capitaluri, carteluri, cazuri, cicluri, cimenturi, coduri, conturi, costuri, droguri, eforturi, exporturi, fonduri, importuri, impulsuri, preţuri, profituri, seturi, suporturi, tipuri, traficuri, transferuri, transporturi*. In a general attempt to see the effects of globalization, it could be said that through English, there is a huge influence of Latin heritage, a Western cultural feature, that is spread on other languages.

However, there are terms of wide circulation, labelled as 'international,' regardless of their etymology. We could exemplify this category with words from English (*iceberg, summit, week-end*), form French (*chef, cordon bleu, gallé, pinot, sauvignon*), Italian (*adagio, gorgonzolla, mozzarella, pizza, ravioli*), Japanese (*kamikaze, karaoke, origami*), Spanish (*macho, malaga*) or other languages. One may assert that an important effect of globalization—through tourism—is to spread traditional and local food names in other parts of the globe. Apart from the European culinary terms already quoted (Italian and French), some other examples are from Arabic (*kebab, falafel, shawarma*), Indian (*tandoori chicken*) or from the American English (*burger, milkshake*).

In a pragmatic perspective, in her study and conference from 2006, Zafiu analysed a selected corpus ("a press language corpus and a collection of debates on various Internet forums, as well as some answers to special questionnaires") and found that dominant language attitudes in the Romanian society are very favourable to Anglicisms. Social affirmation and prestige are the values associated to the use of Anglicism, even in cases where the Romanian synonyms exist. Zafiu stated that, in such cases, Romanian equivalents are labelled as "popular" or "archaic." However, we must insist here that her corpus is representative for the colloquial, informal level and not for the special terminologies.

Usage and social practices are responsible for how the new information is imparted, through the "chains of usage," the electronic global communication.

Moreover, from the banking field there is a signal that a linguistic union (in Europe, at least) could better support the already shaped, even if not achieved, economic, monetary and political union: "un factor unificator trebuie să existe: o limbă oficială. Cred că este timpul ca englezei să-i fie recunoscut oficial acest statut în Europa"[109] (Valentin Lazea, chief economist, National Bank of Romania).

4. Some Conclusions

Languages as a communication tool are used by persons, members of all communities, compact ones (state, region, area, locality) or network-shaped (social, professional) to exchange information about and in the economic and social frame of the reality they belong to. If such a community is culturally sophisticated, the language it uses will reflect this degree of sophistication in the vocabulary (both common and specialized), at a syntactic level, in the stylistic registers and in the variety of types of discourse. The more a community has evolved, the more their members' communication needs are differentiated, and the more its tools for exchanging information will be appropriate. Time related, this phenomenon is also a process taking different paces according to societal developments. Therefore, if we examine the languages of less developed, less complex communities, economically and socially, we will see that they suffice and meet adequately the communication needs of those communities' members. However, comparatively, their language would have lesser tools to express developed cognitive contents.

The difference is not coming from the status of linguistic systems, potentially equivalent, but from the actual way this potential is put to work. The language of a community which has a rich knowledge and names for objects, processes, actions, ideas, will be richer, more sophisticated than the language of a community lacking these distinctions in its own culture.

Similarly, the analyse of texts published in the European Union Official Journal shows that Anglicisms are not a threat to Romanian terminologies, since French (and Latin) patterns are still powerful and they are a strong tool in standardization.

Further research is required to answer questions as: Is there a rationale to be afraid of linguistic globalization? Is there a rationale to distinguish between (to much) items or foreign origin today and in the 19th century in a language like Romanian, given its history and its multiple etymological layers?

Since terminologies are part of communicational processes, involving speakers' and listeners' intentions and real practices, linguists have not to be worry about English present day's lingua franca, and about global terminologies.

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[109] There needs to be a unifying factor: an official language. I think it is high time for Europe to officially acknowledge this status for the English language.

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Loanwords in Japanese in the Context of Globalization

Abstract: Effects of globalization and of the modern exchanges among various countries are seen everywhere, and language does not escape them. Perhaps the most dynamic transformations are seen at the lexical level, where new loanwords are continually introduced. This paper aims to give a brief account of the peculiarities of loanwords in present-day Japanese, with a focus on their origin, degree of assimilation and semantic appropriateness—in the cases where loanwords have lost to a certain degree their original meaning. In the last section, the particular phenomenon of wasei-eigo, also known as 'English made in Japan', a derivation of the linguistic process of borrowing foreign words, is also discussed.

Keywords: gairaigo, 'loanwords,' 'wasei-eigo,' 'pseudo-Anglicisms,' lexical borrowings, lexical innovations, internationalization

Introduction

In this paper, we will first take a brief overview on the vocabulary strata—Section 1—and history of loanwords in the Japanese language—Section 2.

Following this background information, in Section 3 we will first present the most recent national linguistic policies as well as people's attitudes toward the introduction of new loanwords, as shown by several national surveys (3.1). Next in 3.2 we will present the main functions of loanwords, as discussed in earlier studies on the subject. Section 3.3 focuses on several concrete aspects regarding loanwords in present-day Japanese, such as their form, preservation or change of meaning and degree of assimilation.

In Section 4, we will discuss the particular phenomenon of wasei-eigo, also known as 'English made in Japan,' a derivation of the linguistic process of borrowing foreign words, very productive in present-day Japanese.

The final Section 5, briefly presents the conclusion of this paper.

1. Vocabulary Strata in Japanese

The Japanese lexicon is traditionally considered to consist of three main strata:

a) <u>The native stratum</u> (known as *wago/yamato kotoba*, 'Japanese words'), which is indigenous to the Japanese archipelago; the words belonging to this category represent a very large part of the basic vocabulary and describe, mainly, fundamental activities (ex. *taberu* 'eat,' *iku* 'go'), kinship terms (ex. *haha* 'mother,' *chichi* 'father,' *musuko* 'son'), animates (*hito* 'person,' *inu* 'dog,' *mushi* 'insect'), natural phenomena or things (ex. *haru* 'spring,' *yuki* 'snow,' *yama* 'mountain,' *kawa* 'river'), et cetera;

b) <u>The Sino-Japanese stratum</u> (known as *kango*, 'Chinese words'), words that have continually entered the Japanese language since the 5th century, the time of the introduction of the Chinese writing system, such as *ongaku* 'music,' *kanshin* 'interest,' *ronbun* 'essay' et cetera. Having such a long history, these are not considered loanwords anymore and nowadays they represent approximately 60% of the words contained in a modern Japanese dictionary;

c) <u>The foreign stratum</u> (*gairaigo*, lit. 'words from abroad'), representing mainly Western loanwords, defined by researchers, such as Mark Irwin, as follows: "A *gairaigo* is a foreign word which has undergone

adaptation to Japanese phonology, has been borrowed into the Japanese after the mid-16th century and whose meaning is, or has been, intelligible to the general speech community" (Irwin 10).

2. Brief History of Gairaigo

Loanwords have entered the Japanese language in three main phases (Irwin 5ff):

a) The Iberian phase, lasting from the mid-16th to the mid-17th century, when new words and concepts were brought by the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Catholic missionaries.

The borrowings belonging to this phase can be divided into two broad categories:

*Christian terminology (ex. *Kirishitan* 'Christian', *bateren* 'padre', *pan* 'holy wafer' and later 'bread');

*trade terminology (ex. *tabako* 'tobacco', *furasuko* 'flask', et cetera);

b) The Dutch phase, lasting from the mid-17th to the mid-19th century, a period during which Japan had a policy of isolationism allowing only Dutch merchants to enter the country and consequently making them the only source of Western scientific learning.

During this period, most loanwords are:

*medical and scientific terms (ex. *sutorikinīne* 'strychnine', *chifusu* 'typhus', *magunesiumu* 'magnesium,' et cetera);

*terms related to trade (ex. *kōhī* 'coffee', *kakao* 'cocoa', *pisutoru* 'pistol' et cetera);

c) The international phase, beginning with the opening up of Japan after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and extending to present days.

In the 19th century, following the initiation of diplomatic relationships with several countries, there are many borrowings from Russian (*wokka* 'vodka,' *tsā* 'czar'), French (*zubon*, from 'jupon' but meaning 'trousers,' *kudeta* 'coup d'état') or German (ex. *rentogen* < Röntgen 'X-rays,' *wakushin* 'vaccine').

In the 20th century, there are many borrowings from Italian, German and other languages, but especially after the World War II the Japanese language has been dominated by English borrowings.

3. Gairaigo in Present-Day Japanese

3.1. National Linguistic Policies and People's Attitude Towards Loanwords

According to Margaret Pine Otake's research, in 1889 there were only 85 *gairaigo* of Dutch origin and 72 of English origin listed in the main Japanese dictionaries (Otake 90). Another research focusing on the number of modern *gairaigo* items listed in *Kōjien*—one of the most prestigious Japanese language dictionaries—shows that the number of *gairaigo* represented 8.5% of all listed words in the 1983 edition, then 9.2% of the total in the 1991 edition and 10.2% in the 1998 edition (Igarashi 4), showing a rapid increase.

This increase may be the response to the need of lining up, lingustically speaking, with the rest of the developed world, in the global present-day context when international and intercultural exchanges of all kinds have so much intensified. In Japanese, western loanwords have taken up the function of a communicative 'bridge' between a language otherwise 'wrecoemizablo' from the lexical point of view and the western laguages, notably English, spoken all over the world.

In fact in recent years, the Japanese government has pursued a "policy of internationalization for the Japanese language." At the same time, concerned to prevent a too abrupt increase of foreign words, the government established *Gairaigo Iinkai*, a "Loanword Committee" within the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL), specifically to control the over-proliferation of *gairaigo* (Igarashi 3).

According to Irwin's analysis, many Japanese speakers see a "deluge" of foreign words, and very often the national newspapers receive letters complaining about the excessive use of *gairaigo* (which are "unnecessary, undesirable and misleading words," as opposed to the "beautiful, authentic Japanese"). However, according to Irwin, this "deluge" may be only an illusion created by the very quick replacement of the loanwords in use by other new loanwords (Irwin 193).

The National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL), the Japanese Agency of Cultural Affairs, Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK, Japan's national public broadcasting organization) and several other institutions have constantly conducted scientific surveys and opinion polls on public attitudes towards *gairaigo*. According to their analysis, in recent years it seems that middle-aged people and company employees consider that there are too many *gairaigo* among the words they read and hear every day. In exchange, younger people and people in other fields of activity (such as agriculture, fishery, et cetera) tend to be less upset by the number of loanwords in present-day Japanese (Irwin 195ff).

In our opinion, these results seem to indicate that loanwords have indeed become a more and more visible presence in at least certain areas of the Japanese lexicon. The tendency revealed by the surveys above could be explained, on one hand, by the fact that young people in present-day Japan have more contact with English and other foreign languages (via movies, music or the Internet) than older generations (eg. the middle-aged and company employees) and for this reason, are more familiar with the loanwords; on the other hand, people in certain fields of activity (eg. Agriculture) have less contact with *gairaigo* and do not perceive them as "invading."

3.2. Main Functions of Loanwords

According to Otake (88), words are borrowed from other languages in order to fulfill specific communicative needs, such as naming something new that has no name in the language, expressing something with a slightly different nuance than the original term already in use, or in order to enhance the status of the speaker by creating an image of refinement.

This applies to the Japanese language as well, as we can see in the examples below (all figuring in *Kōjien*: *the Comprehensive Dictionary of the Japanese Language*).

a) loanwords used to describe newly introduced objects and concepts: these are usually technological terms such as *intānetto* 'Internet', *haifai* 'hi-fi', et cetera;
b) loanwords conferring sophistication/refinement: the foreign loanword is used for stylistic effects, even though a Japanese or Sino-Japanese equivalent already exists in the language.

ex. *ueddingu* 'wedding' instead of *kekkonshiki*
yunīku 'unique' instead of *yuiitsu* or *koseiteki*
mēdo 'maid' instead of *otetsudai* (lit. 'helper') or *otome.*

Sometimes, the loanword, being taken from a different language, less familiar, is perceived as less direct/ strong than its native counterpart, and is used euphemistically,

ex. *rōn* 'loan' instead of the Sino-Japanese equivalent *shakkin*, lit 'borrowed money'
adobaisu 'advice' instead of *sōdan.*

Of the functions mentioned above, the first one, i.e., filling lexical gaps, is without doubt primary and widespread, the "sophistication effect" being only a secondary function of programmatic nature.

At a different level and indirectly, but perhaps not less importantly, loanwords contribute to creating 'common grounds' with other widespread languages, especially English, as we have briefly argued in 3.1.

3.3. Modifications in Form and Meaning

In Japanese, there are several paths that loanwords can take on their way to assimilation.

Sometimes loanwords are taken as they were in the donor language, keeping their meaning and length and being only adapted to the Japanese phonological system, where consonants cannot be followed by other consonants,[110] the basic sequence type being consonant-vowel.

> ex. *ekisochikku* < exotic
> *kurisumasu* < Christmas

Sometimes, their form remains the same, but they get a slightly derived meaning, such as *toranpu*, originating in the English 'trump (card),' meaning in Japanese 'playing cards,' or *mēkā*, from 'maker,' meaning 'well-known manufacturer.'

In other cases, after being in use for some time, and especially in the case of compound words, they are truncated, usually to four morae, by keeping the first two morae of each element of the compound.[111]

> ex. *pasokon* < *pāsonaru konpyūta* 'personal computer'
> *rimokon* < *rimōto kontorōru* 'remote control'
> *sekuhara* < *sekushuaru harasumento* 'sexual harassment'.

In yet other cases, their forms show a higher degree of assimilation into the Japanese language, especially when receiving verb endings specific to the *wago* or *kango* strata.

> ex. *kanningu*, from the English word 'cunning,' used in a compound verb with the auxiliary *suru*[112]
> 'to do', in the expression *kanningu suru*, meaning 'to cheat';
> *saboru*, from the French word 'sabotage,' with a typical Japanese verb ending, *-ru*, meaning 'to skip/cut a class,' 'to be truant.'

4. The 'Japanese Recipe': *Waseieigo*, Japanese-Made English

A particularly interesting phenomenon, a derivation of the linguistic process of borrowing foreign words, very productive in present-day Japanese, is the so-called *wasei-eigo*, literally 'English made in Japan.' The term refers to pseudo-Anglicisms, expressions that are not used in the English-speaking world, and usually having in Japanese a meaning derived from the original meaning. (Examples taken from *Kōjien*, the *Comprehensive Dictionary of the Japanese Language*).

> *baikingu* < 'Viking' meaning in Japanese 'Swedish/all-you-caneat buffet'
> *sararīman* < 'salary' + 'man,' meaning 'company employee'
> *dokutaa stoppu* < 'doctor' + 'stop,' meaning 'the doctor's instructions to slow down'
> *goruden wiiku* < 'golden' + 'week,' referring to the Japanese extended public holidays between April 29 and May 5

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[110] Except the nasal mora /N/, that can be followed by a consonant, as in *saNpo* "walk," *teNki* 'weather,' haNsamu 'handsome,' mango 'mango.'

[111] The four-morae structure is considered to be very harmonious in the Japanese language. Also, the same truncation pattern (2 + 2 morae) is frequently used for Japanese or Sino-Japanese words as well: ex. *Toodai* < *Tookyoo Daigaku* 'Tokyo University,' *Kokuren* < *Kokusai Rengoo* 'the United Nations.'

[112] The combination noun + *suru* ('to do') is very frequent for Sino-Japanese words, ex. *benkyō suru* 'to study' (lit. 'to do study'), *kekkon suru* 'marry' (lit. 'to do marriage') etc.

Shibasaki et al. classify the *wasei-eigo* into four large categories:

a) the word exists in English, but is assigned a different meaning in Japanese, ex. *juice*, meaning 'drink derived from fruits or vegetables' in English, whose Japanese equivalent, *juusu*, can refer to 'soft drinks' or 'carbonated drinks';

b) the Japanese word represents a truncation of the original English word, ex. *depaato* < department store;

c) the word does not exist in English, ex. *naitaa*, whose equivalent would be *nighter*, inexistent in English, having the meaning of "night game";

d) two or more words, each one existent in English, combine and get a new meaning in Japanese, ex. *mōningu sābisu*, from "morning" + "service," meaning "a discount menu during morning hours". (Meerman and Tamoaka 23).

Due to the fact that these combinations lose their initial meaning and, moreover, are not governed any more by the grammatical rules in the donor language, they sometimes produce a strange effect, at least for the speakers familiar with the donor language. Such is the case with the *wasei-eigo* expressions *mai hōmu* or *mai pēsu*, whose equivalents in English would be "<u>my</u> home" and "<u>my</u> pace," but meaning in Japanese "<u>one</u>'s own home," "at <u>one</u>'s own pace." The following sentences are acceptable in Japanese, disregarding the incompatibility of pronouns that would arise in English:

> *Tomodachi no mai hoomu watotemo suteki da wa!*
> friend GEN "my home" TOP very splendid COP PRT.EMPH
> lit. "My friend's <u>my home</u> is spleendid!"

> *Jikan ga aru kara, mai peesu de yatte kudasai.*
> time NOM have because "my pace" at do please
> lit. "There is plenty of time, so please do it at your <u>my pace.</u>"

A question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered is WHY *waseieigo* are created, instead of trying to express the same concepts with Japanese words or simply borrowing the words with the desired meaning from another language. According to Miller, there may be several factors involved, such as an innate propensity in Japanese to borrow foreign things or perhaps the desire to emulate prestigious foreign languages and cultures (Miller 129).

Conclusions

As Japan heads more and more towards internationalization and globalization, new loanwords are constantly introduced in present-day Japanese in order to meet the communication needs. Loanwords are used not only related to the new technologies, but to everyday life as well. While some of them keep the original meaning and remain similar to the original form, others are modified—form and meaning as well, showing a higher degree of assimilation into the Japanese language. A particularly interesting phenolmenon is the *wasei-eigo*, 'English made in Japan', following the model of true loanwords, perhaps in the aim of bringing 'international flavor' to the Japanese language.

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'Cultural' and 'Intercultural' in Teaching Foreign Languages in a Technical University

Abstract: Our article presents a series of concepts connected to competence-based education and teaching intercultural competence with a view to highlighting several important characteristics of competence, such as: it is contextual; it involves a life-learning process; it is an ideal set of knowledge, skills and attitudes which must be learned. Referring to the field of foreign languages, the components of the communicative competence have acquired new dimensions, among which the most debatable is the cultural element. We shall present an interesting terminology associated with the cultural competences in the history of teaching French, with a view to identifying the most recent denominations and definitions of various cultural competences. The article also consists in presenting the findings of a research which aimed to identify the perceptions of foreign language teachers on the most relevant teaching objectives, methods and content related to intercultural competence. Data were collected based on a series of interviews and a questionnaire addressed to university professors who teach foreign languages. The findings show a tendency to practice listening comprehension and spoken production, from an intercultural perspective, as it suits the students' need to acquire oral communication skills for working in multicultural professional environments.

Keywords: cultural, intercultural, teaching, competence, communication.

Introduction: The Focus on Competence in Contemporary Education

The teaching of competences is a modern preoccupation of all educational systems, including ours. The modern education is centered upon teaching-learning competences, and a certain set of competences is assigned to each curricular subject. In education, the concept of competence was borrowed from the professional field, where 'a competent person' means one who has specific knowledge in a certain field of activity and who can apply it in his/her professional assiguments.

As a broad definition, competence means a set of knowledge, attitudes and behaviors which allow one to adequately solve a task.

Several authors (Manolescu, Cucoș, Meyer) define competence in connection to another concept, that of "performance," highlighting that performance is associated with the ability to perform tasks in real life. Thus, competence becomes an ideal set of knowledge, skills and attitudes which can be used in a given context; the adequate use of competences learned leads to performance.

A comprehensive definition is offered by C. Cucoș, who emphasises several fundamental characteristics of competence:

*the difficulty of measuring competence;
*its acquisition in time as a lifelong-learning competence;
*the impossibility of applying-using it in all contexts.

> Competence is a dynamic, flexible reality, which is difficult to be captured and measured. We cannot argue that a competence has been completely acquired and for goods. From the fact that a pupil can make the agreement between the subject and the predicate in general, we cannot infer that he/she will be able to make it in all other further situations. In certain situations he/she might make mistakes. (Cucoș 92)

The dependence of competence upon context is also mentioned in the official definition of the National Agency for Qualifications in Higher Education and Partnership with the Social and Economic Environment (ACPART), as written in the Monitorul Oficial : "competence is the proven capacity to select, combine and adequately use knowledge, abilities and other acquisitions (values and attitudes), with a view to successfully solve a certain category of work and learning situations…" (25). One of the key words in this definition is "adequately," which refers not only to the learning process, but also to the adequate use of the learning content in real tasks. In this way, learning becomes a resource, used to put all the learned knowledge and abilities into practice.

In our contemporary world we are witnessing a change of paradigm in the educational system towards competence-based teaching and learning. Still, we should not understand that this is a radical change of perspective; education has not abandoned teaching knowledge. On the contrary, it has added new dimensions, since competences include learning knowledge, among other aspects. Competence-based education is associated with active learning, by which the student becomes involved, co-participant in the educational process. What is particularly important is the fact that the student becomes responsible for his/her own learning progress. In the field of foreign language teaching, there has been a long-established debate on teaching intercultural communication competence, which according to ACPART, is a transversal competence. This responsibility and the engagement in the teaching/learning process required from the student are also the key to the successful acquisition of the intercultural communication competence. In our opinion, a competent person in the field of intercultural communication is one who acquired a set of specific knowledge, abilities, attitudes and behaviors as a result of the process of learning in formal, non-formal and informal educational contexts, which are adequately used in dealing with real intercultural communication tasks.

The mutual understanding and respect in intercultural interactions can be ensured by self-aware and responsible persons, willing to interact and to exchange ideas in a tolerant manner. Ignorance, self-centrism, disengagement, lead to negative attitudes which can only be hurdles to cooperation and positive attitudes.

Diversity as a Teaching Objective

In our present society there is a significant focus on acquiring linguistic skills, but also on learning specific attitudes and behaviors which could facilitate mutual understanding among persons of different nationalities. The policies of the European Union referring to plurilingualism and multiculturalism promote intercultural education based on teaching attitudes of tolerance and openness before diversity.

As of the years 1990, along with the rising of the debates about intercultural communication competence, researchers have talked about a change of paradigm in teaching modern languages. In this context, along with the occurrence of the intercultural perspective, the communicative approach has acquired new values. This perspective has brought a shift in the main aim of teaching modern languages, from developing linguistic and socio-linguistic competences in order to resemble the native linguistic model, to acquiring the intercultural speaker's competence of mediation between cultures.

The cultural diversity found at educational level is an extraordinary source of progress and innovation as regards the didactic methodology but also, the pedagogical communication. This diversity should be valued and used as a resource so that academic results could appear and, along with them, the student's/teacher's satisfaction.

Effective communication is always dependent on context and, since culture is part of the context, communication is rarely separate from the cultural element. Thus, we agree that learning a foreign language cannot be separate from learning the target culture. It becomes important that the international students should become aware of their own culture and of the other cultures; otherwise, the messages in

the foreign language could be interpreted according to their own cultural framework and this fact could lead to misinterpretations and ineffective communication.

American older studies showed that the intercultural communication competence is inborn, as Chomsky viewed it, but more recent debates conclude that this competence can be learned and its structure comprises three aspects: cognitive (knowledge), affective (attitudes and motivation of respect for diversity) and behavioral.

The concept of communication competence has acquired a new dimension in recent educational research—the intercultural one. The intercultural communication competence is structured in the works of the Council of Europe (M.Byram, 1997) and it is structured into five cultural components ("savoirs") and three linguistic components. The five cultural "savoirs" refer to: attitudes (curiosity, openness, trust in one's own culture), knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating (skills of interpreting a document/event from another culture, of explaining it and relating it to other documents/events from one's own culture), skills of discovering and interacting (ability to acquire new knowledge regarding a foreign culture and to operate with it), critical awareness of the culture (ability to evaluate critically, and based on explicit criteria, one's own culture and other cultures). As we can notice, from this extensive structural definition of intercultural communication competence, it involves positive attitudes towards otherness including openness, curiosity and trust, as well as skills of interpreting, interacting and critical thinking.

The Relation between Language and Culture in Teaching Modern Languages

The debate on competence in the field of teaching foreign languages started with Noam Chomsky, but he mainly took into account the linguistic competence. The author uses the concept of "universal grammar" to refer to the complexity of the linguistic structures and mechanisms which are universal and inborn, which allow us to recognize certain events and stimuli, as linguistic experiences. The reflection on the communicative competence continues by outlining the conceptual pair "linguistic competence" versus "communicative competence." The conceptual duality was brought to public attention by Dell Hymes' studies in the 1970s. If, for Chomsky, the linguistic competence is an inborn skill, for Hymes it is a dynamic construct, a skill which allows for interpreting and building messages, negotiating meanings in specific contexts.

As of 1980, the place of culture becomes important and the communicative approach to teaching foreign languages brings about the interest in the influence of the cultural factors in verbal interactions. Thus, the 1980s mark the interrelation between culture and language which has been a constant preoccupation of philologists until nowadays.

As a result, different authors use concepts which comprise references to both language and culture, such as "languaculture" (Karen Risager and Claire Kramsh) coined by the linguist anthropologist Michael Agar in 1994, or terms in French such as "languescultures" (languages-cultures) used by the French language methodist Christian Puren. The essence of a culture is found in the language which, at its turn, reflects the socio-cultural experience of a community.

The chronological evolution of the cultural element in teaching foreign languages is presented by Christian Puren, with reference to teaching French. From his point of view, the different cultural competences had different names according to teaching objectives and social needs. Therefore, he mentions the following chronology of the cultural competences: the transcultural competence (19th century), metacultural (1900-1910, 1920-1960), intercultural (1960-1970, 1980-1990), pluricultural (1990-present), co-cultural (2000-present). The transcultural competence is defined as an ability to recognise and share the universal values from the classical literature, which could be taught by reading and translation activities. The metacultural competence involves the ability to identify and put into practice cultural knowledge starting from authentic documents. It could be developed by speaking, reading and documentation activities. The pedagogical view on the intercultural competence is related to the concept

of cultural representations and the ability to manage them successfully in interactions with members of other cultures. The author advises on using teaching activities such as simulations, role-plays and discussions. The pluricultural competence refers to the ability to understand the others and to adopt common behaviors in culturally diverse societies. The teaching activities recommended by Puren are purely communicative and refer to language functions: rephrasing, summarizing and interpretation. The last competence, the co-cultural, one is defined as the ability to work with the others on common projects and activities, and to share values. In this respect, Puren recommends the pedagogy of projects. Although we appreciate the author's contribution to the study of the evolution of teaching culture, we believe that these competences cannot be excluded on a temporal basis; we consider they are particular or are contextualized facets of the cultural competence.

Other authors (Pretceille), offer us a more dichotomist perspective on the cultural competence, when she talks about the difference between cultural and intercultural competences. In her view, the cultural competence focuses on the acquisition of cultural knowledge, whereas the intercultural competence refers to interlocutors' ability to recognize the cultural element in a cultural exchange and to engage in a negotiation process which implies identity transformations. On the one hand, the cultural perspective views language and culture as separate entities. In this perspective, revealed and learned culture can be by studying cultural texts. On the other hand, in the intercultural approach, culture is perceived as a continuum, as a dynamic concept by means of which people perceive reality. Students are presented the cultural elements from different perspectives and understandding culture means to be able to see the matter from all its angles. Moreover, the intercultural approach involves reflections on one's own intercultural experiences and knowledge, as well as acceptance of different points of view and skills of interpreting attitudes, ideas and cultural events.

An intermediary position, which connects the cultural and the intercultural approaches, is presented by Vincent Louis. He uses the prefix "inter" in brackets- "(inter) cultural" which clearly creates a bridge between the two perspectives. The author explains that starting with the 1990s there have been attempts at redefining the cultural competence as a component of the communicative competence. Today, he argues, we can see the transition from "cultural" to "intercultural" as an abandonment of the focus on cultural knowledge and a concentration on the processes which allow the learner to construct it. As a result, what once has been called "cultural" has now become "intercultural."

We believe that teaching the intercultural communication competence does not involve developing other type of competences, but it is a recent approach to teaching the communication competence in foreing languages, given the multicultural context of our society.

Research Methodology and Findings

As teachers and researchers, we are asking ourselves what teaching objectives, methodologies and content could be used in the language classroom so that students could acquire the necessary skills and, especially, the adequate attitudes in order to communicate effectively in a multicultural environment, in a relatively short period of time. As we have mentioned, learning and developing the intercultural communication competence is a life-long process, and it is related to all the three types of education: formal, non-formal and informal. Some of the professors interviewed in our research argue that, due to the limitations referring to an estabilished curriculum and to the amount of time available for the English language classes, the introduction of an intercultural perspective poses some problems.

Our research is based on qualitative research (focus-group) with exploratory role, in which six academic teaching staff, from various Romanian universities, participated. The main aim of the focus was to identify the teachers opinions on the teaching objectives, methods and content involved in developing their students' intercultural communication competence. The data collected from this focus-group were used as a basis for designing a questionnaire.

The second phase of our research consisted in administering the questionnaire to 30 foreign language teachers from technical universities (The Polytechnic University of Bucharest, the Technical University of Civil Engineering of Bucharest). The data that we collected allowed us to interpret them quantitatively (by statistical processing procedures) and qualitatively.

The questions of the questionnaire were divided into three sections: teaching objectives for the intercultural communication competence, teaching methods and, finally, teaching content/topics, which are suggested to be used for the development of this competence.

By studying the statistical means, we could notice that the teachers' choices regarding the objectives refer to: cultivating a positive attitude towards diversity (to be flexible and open to other cultures); acquiring knowledge about the target culture; and the students' ability to understand a message, by taking into account the cultural reference of the interlocutor. Attitudes can be acquired by constant feedback, which helps students adjust their behavior and reactions to the context of communication and to the interlocutor's cultural frame of reference. In this respect, we suggest activities such as: problem-solving, critical incidents and projects. Also, the use of the European teaching tools, the European Language Portfolio and the Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters, could help them register their own intercultural experience and reflect upon it. Knowledge about a target culture can be learned by the use of authentic teaching materials, such as newspapers, flyers, tikets, videos, listening activities, the internet, et cetera. Students' ability to understand a foreigner's cultural framework means for us awareness of both his/her own culture (customs, mentality, life style, knowledge of stereotypes) and the interlocutor's culture, as well as understanding that cultural differences do not divide people, but are a positive aspect, which should be valued.

Among the teachers' suggestions regarding the teaching methods, there are debates and conversations, methods based on cooperative learning (teamwork, pair-work), teaching methods based on involving students in the real world (the ethnographic method), methods of indirect exploration of reality (simulations, role-playing). The choice of the teaching methods suggested by the respondents (oral communication, group work, direct/indirect exploration of reality) leads to the idea that teaching intercultural communication competence requires a direct/indirect connection to the society. This corresponds to the most recent debate on the role of language learners as ethnographers, who can discover and research culture by themselves.

Due to the large number of intercultural topics in communication, which cannot be covered in a language course, we have asked our respondents a question referring to the selection of a more adequate content for teaching a language form an intercultural perspective. Their answers are grouped around the following three key choices: greetings and addressing people; traditions and customs; and degrees of formality. Thus, language is once again connected to culture, by this selection of topics.

In general, the role of developing the intercultural competence is as important as developing the linguistic competence, and the teachers' choices reflect a focus on listening comprehension and spoken production. The research refers to the teachers' interest in selecting the relevant and the most adequarte objectives, content and methods, in order to address their students' need to communicate effectively in a foreign language in a multicultural enviromment.

Conclusions

Cultural and intercultural competences are not interchangeable concepts, as intercultural does not refer only to cultural knowledge, but it involves specific attitudes and behaviors as well; the intercultural communication competence requires the adequate use of cultural knowledge in a specific context of interaction, reflection upon one's own intercultural experience and how this affected his/ her cultural identity.

The 'intercultural' plays an important role in teaching foreign languages nowadays. It is an umbrella concept, which covers many concepts and theories from different fields of research and study. Although critical voices agree that it is either a superficial or an idealist concept, it is worth using it in teaching foreign languages, since this field is defined by otherness which is present, in its complexity, in our everyday lives.

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From Patches to Patchwork—Teaching Multicultural Groups

Abstract: This study presents a range of issues to be taken into consideration when teaching a foreign language to multicultural groups. In the author's case—a technical university, an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) course and young adult students, both freshmen and sophomores in Electrical Engineering – the learners originate from around 6 - 7 different cultures/countries. This raises a series of questions to be dealt with in order to ensure an optimal climate and equal chances to accessing tuition to all the participants involved. How this can be achieved is shown as a case study of the concrete educational context in terms of choices made by the teacher as regards the syllabus, class management or the positive learning environment. Some general guidelines have emerged from the analysis, which are presented as proposals open to amendment and as a springboard for further exchanges of views.

Keywords: foreign language teaching, ESP, multicultural groups, approach to teaching multicultural groups, case study.

1. Preamble—On Teaching Multicultural Groups

Teaching English to a multicultural group is a relatively new type of activity for the author of this study. The educational context taken into consideration is a technical university, within which an *English for Professional Communication* course is taught to year one students whose mother tongue is not English, but who take all the study disciplines in English at Bachelor level.

As a rule, the students in a group come from over 5 countries, which poses the teacher a variety of questions and aspects to deal with in order to guarantee all the learners equal chances to attaining success in their instruction process.

The teacher should try to harmoniously put together the numerous patches represented by the students—each having their own characteristic features, within a well managed class, in a positive learning environment, guided by an appropriate syllabus, in order to implement the course in a coherent manner.[113]

Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to investigate the best practices in terms of multicultural group teaching and, on the basis of a case study presenting the context of the author, to provide a range of signposts—certainly open to discussion and further optimization.

In order to build up our remarks on the viewpoints identified in the literature of the domain, we will begin by emphasizing those elements that are recommended by the authors devoting much of their research to the issue of *multiculturalism* (Shaffer, pars. 1-3).

They comprise, in a postmodern era where globalization is one of the main paradigms of our existence, besides specialized *websites* of most important universities in countries where this problem is of relevance, also *blogs* of the teachers involved in research in the area of multiculturalism. Their main role is to provide support to fellow teachers, by creating a community of professionals sharing views and experiences.

We extract here some recurrent ideas to be found in most such sources (e.g. Center for Teaching and Learning; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) regarding teaching for *inclusion* and dealing with

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[113] A *patchwork* can be thus created, which would metaphorically mean that each patch has its own value and distinctive features, but on the other hand the whole has managed to get its own meaning.

diversity in the multicultural classroom. It is maintained that, in spite of a large number of suggestions meant to help the teacher to create a positive learning environment for the students, it is natural that teachers should be given time for *adjustment*, starting from easier aspects and gradually moving on to dealing with the most complex ones.

The advice provided is grouped around the following main elements:

general strategies meant to optimize inclusive teaching—the teacher should start from the very first day by trying to see beyond the obvious and analyze assumptions of the learners and of their own, then assessing the profile of each individual group;

*at the level of the classroom, the role of *discussion* is underlined, with guidelines provided as to how to set basic rules in a class seen as a *community*; placing all the activities on the respect for the actors' beliefs and by acknowledging the existing of *otherness*;

*as far as the *teaching approach* is concerned, it should be characterized by care to anticipate potential problems and to depersonalize controversial topics, by using appropriate resources (such as visual aids, role plays, a touch of humour);

group work must be encouraged, especially for debates—we would like to add that the group formation and its structure should be carefully done so that to involve students from various countries in the common work;

*as regards the *teacher's personal and professional development*—it is a duty for them to foster their own evolution in the understanding of the multicultural issues, thus enlarging their own perspective and becoming more likely to manage such groups.

University websites devoted to the issues of teaching in a multicultural classroom, from among which we analyze one (that of The Pennsylvania State University, pars. 1 – 19), focus on the two main stages in the teacher's activity:

(i)the importance of understanding the 'classroom dynamics,' and

(ii)once this attitude of awareness of the potential biases and/or assumptions that can be brought to class by any of the actors—teacher or students alike—has been shaped up, then it will be possible to apply the best strategies and teaching practices to attain educational success.

The teacher should be aware throughout the entire activity with the multicultural group students that each such context has its peculiarities, involving differences in terms of: 'age gender, ethnicity, race, intellectual ability, socio-economic level, language, culture, education, religion, birthplace, where we grew up, learning styles, multiple intelligence preferences, personality types, hobbies and interests, career paths, values et cetera.'

Consequently, the teacher's *action agenda* should include: building an environment that encourages learning—which can be different from learner to learner, but which nevertheless should welcome, respect and learn how to deal with *diversity*.

2. Main Theoretical Issues on Teaching Multicultural Groups

International organizations (Kazancigil, par. 3) are interested in the phenomenon of *multiculturalism* in the area of education, which has been generated by a range of causes for *diversity* in the contemporary period.

The components of diversity, understood as differences among individuals as far as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and so on are concerned, are analyzed in the literature (Tileston 69).

Moreover, as Reissman (1-2) pointed out, multicultural education was labeled in a variety of ways: *diversity training, intergroup dynamics, cultural diversity*, which is an issue that requires further research.

A comprehensive definition of the essence of multiculturalism can be found in Carson (par. 1), who maintains that it is difficult to launch a *definition of the phenomenon of multiculturalism* if one takes it out of the specific context which has generated it. Moreover, she maintains that the concept is 'constantly changing.'

Since the end of the previous century such interest has been higher, with—as main aspects approached: teaching solutions and recommended activities (Nieto), but also clarifications of the philosophical position of support in designing and implementing good teaching practices (Banks).

The understanding of the multilingual learner should take place with the taking into consideration of its *dynamic* evolution (Brisk 3).

This is even more true today, given the increase in the number of *international students*—one aspect specific to globalization. Hence, as pointed out in the literature (Inglis, par. 5), the need for *coherence in policies* focused on multiculturality.

At the personal level, that of the teacher, as emphasized in the literature (Kudjo Donkor 1), general policies should be well integrated in the teacher/researcher's well grounded personal pedagogical approach in what is called 'culturally responsive teaching'.

The author also emphasizes the necessity that the educational contexts and the methodologies applied should serve the interests and needs of *all* diverse learners.

A range of main ideas should be extracted from the literature and briefly presented at this point in view of building up a *framework of principles* underlying the teaching of multicultural groups:

*valid *models* should be organized around the principles of *equity* and the provision of *equal opportunities* (Gorski, par. 1);

*there are few references in the literature on teaching science disciplines to multicultural groups of students who are culturaly and linguistically different (Boutte, Kelly-Jackson and Johnson 2), quoting research of Emdin's and Lee and Luykx';

*the views on *culturally relevant teaching* (Ladson-Billings) should be taken into account by teachers wishing to support their learners to attain academic success by including culturally responsive good teaching practices in their classrooms;

*a full reconfiguration of the system is the solution to place multicultural education on a sound progressive basis, therefore a full *transformation* approach (Banks) is advisable, followed through in a *dynamic* manner, which may become even more rewarding if shared with fellow teachers (Gorski, par. 10);

*there are good chances that the *investigative* type of teacher, who assumes the role of *researcher* of their own educational context, will benefit from the results not only as regards the solving up of the problematic issues raised by the multicultural educational context, but also in terms of their personal and professional development, as shown by Reissman (1-2);

The rather few authors who offer interesting ideas of useful *activities* mention the importance of *ice breaking* and *introspection* (Gorski, pars. 1-15). A more comprehensive guide is that of Hassinen and Kallinen (7 – 8), who underline the *special skills* and *flexible attitude* in working with heterogeneous groups of students in tertiary education. They also stress upon the transformation process that the teachers themselves should assume, by permanently challenging their cultural assumptions and evolve in their own cultural awareness.

As our research is based on a *case study*, it is of importance to understand this type of research instrument in its main features, as a *qualitative* method of support in the process of attaining a good level of objectiveness of the research data.

Generically, a case study is a *story*, as Boehrer put it, as quoted on the *Writing@CSU: Writing Guide* site. It gives concrete narrative details, having a plot, characters and sometimes even dialogues. Comparatively, it is a more flexible method among others used in scientific research.

According to Yin, there are five main components of a case study:

*the questions of the study,
*the propositions reflecting a theoretical issue
*the unit(s) of analysis,
*the logic linking of the data to the propositions,
*the criteria applied in interpreting the findings.

Among the main *advantages* of using case studies as research instruments we should list:

*the possibility of *detecting key factors* occured during data collection,
*the generation of *information* which is much more *detailed* and *comprehensive* than that obtained by statistical analysis, and
*the possibility of involving *creativity* and *innovation elements* in the research to a higher extent.

There certainly remains an element of unavoidable inherent subjectiveness in it, but this is assumed as natural for qualitative data collecting research instruments.

3. Patchwork is More than the Patches Together—*a Proposal*

3.1. Background

In presenting the concrete educational context that is the object of the case study carried out in this paper, we should start from the remark that one can identify a vast array of combinations of sometimes very different features which, when taken together, describe a specific multicultural group. That this is so is confirmed by the multitude viewpoints and foci in the literature of the problem.

However, the main components of each situation, viz. the students, the teacher(s), the language of tuition as well as the L1 of both the students and the teacher, the disciplines in the curriculum, the type and location of the school and so on—are all of equal importance in the analysis.

In very broad lines, the case study we present here is of the *exploratory* type, with a quite condensed character, and it was carried out with a view to *identifying the main problems* that can occur in the activity of teaching to a multicultural group.

3.2. Features of the Research Context

The *educational context* analyzed is in itself a challenge, due to the combination of characteristics it comprises as a whole—to mention just the main ones:

*the teacher is Romanian,
*she teaches ESP at Bachelor level to both Romanian and foreign students (freshmen and/ or sophomores) from around 6 – 7 countries per each group, with various educational and linguistic backgrounds, and sometimes deep cultural and other differences,

*the environment is a tertiary education unit of the technical type, i.e. POLITEHNICA University of Bucharest,

*the narrower educational context of the learners is a faculty (Faculty of Engineering in Foreign Languages) where all the disciplines, technical and other, are taught in English,

*mostly (up to 100%) by teachers who are native speakers of Romanian and have a certain (good) level of command over the English language.

If the teachers in this context really wish to provide high quality education to their students, then they need to embark upon research meant to identify best practice ideas, adapt and/or enrich them with personal proposals, check them in practice and use the valuable feedback from the students, as well as from colleagues in their network of professionals sharing views and exchanging opinions and ideas, in order to further optimize their approach to teaching.

3.3. The Learners

The *profile of the students* in the educational context described is given in Table 1. The profile was generated on the basis of a series of interviews, questionnaires and other forms of data collecting tools, that are summed up insofar as the most relevant features for further teacher action could be determined.

Table 1
Students' profile—main features

No.	Feature	Findings
1	*Country of origin*	25% of the students come from abroad: Iran, Palestine, Nigeria, Tunisia, Cameroon, Turkey, Afghanistan, Syria, Pakistan; approximately 75% are Romanians.
2	*Educational background*	High school graduates from country of origin educational system—around 90%; not too high previous exposure to a variety of teaching styles
3	*Mother tongue*	Romanian, Arabic, Farsi, Igbo, Pashto, Arabic Tunisian, Urdu, French et cetera.
4	*Other foreign languages besides English*	Romanian, French, Russian, German, Turkish, Bangla, Pidgin, Punjabi et cetera.
5	*Level of English proficiency*	B1 (10-15%); B2 (approx. 60%); C1 (25 – 30%)
6	*Learning preferences and styles*	Both individual and group work favoured; responding well to communicative teaching approach
7	*Learning/ accommodation problems*	Fast pace of teaching with some teachers of the technical disciplines, some lacks of background knowledge at high school level, communication / language problems, cultural differences, attained level of education.
8	*Free time interests*	The Romanians cluster together on them, with rare involvement of the foreign colleagues
9	*Good points as regards their multicultural group student status*	The Romanians: an interesting intercultural experience The foreigners: the Romanians respect our culture
10	*Not so good points as regards their multiculturalist group student status*	Lack of guidance/a counseling centre at faculty level; Resenting distance from homeland and family.

It is against this bunch of real context data that the teacher of English has to find the most successful ways of turning the multitude of students—the 'patches' as they come to class, into a colourful 'patchwork' piece having a congruous character.

3.4. Lines of Action

To this end, one basic requirement is that one holds oneself to the same teaching/learning expectations that one holds the learners. The activities and attitudes the teacher creates and uses should help the students on all three plans: not only strictly on the *academic* one, but also *socially* and *personally*.

If these main objectives are not achieved, misunderstandings may appear, growing into increased frustration and potentially conducive to the students' reluctance to commit themselves in the learning process, or even conflicts generating the highly unwanted failure on the three above mentioned plans.

The teacher's line of action should include some essential *principles* and/ or *attitudes*: engagement, full involvement, rejecting denial. The *multicultural element* should be taken into consideration permanently and in time slight *adjustments*, prompted by feedback and the teacher's own class observation, should be made.

3.5. Proposed Tasks

In what follows, several concrete *examples* are provided, of *tasks* and *task patterns* created in order to give the students of multicultural groups a better chance of attaining success, without altering any element of their identity.

The activities have been piloted in the educational context described throughout one academic year; they combine language and learning skills development in an integrated manner. The *rationale* underlying each of them is briefly provided.

To begin with, *speaking* based activities are presented. *Debating* on cultural differences can be very well integrated in the first unit of the *English for Professional Communication* course book in our current use, which is focused on *Building a professional relationship across cultures*.

The teacher asks the multicultural group students to:

(i) give tips to a foreigner on the most important aspects of their culture (e.g. eye contact, punctuality, ways of addressing various categories of people, humour, but also social and conversational *taboo* subjects;

(ii) additionally, to provide instances of cases conducive to experiencing the cultural shock and/or misunderstandings;

(iii) moreover, they are allotted a slot in the seminar in order to present their most important national celebrations.

In case there are two or more students from the same country, they are encouraged to work as a group on this task, sharing responsibility for the final product. The rationale of such activities is, besides the hidden agenda of developing the speaking skills of the learners, that of helping the students in getting to know more about their foreign colleagues and in identifying common features conducive to a faster manner of creating an as harmonious and homogeneous group as possible, without disregarding individual identities.

In the same vein, the *Telephoning* unit creates an excellent background for enlarging the scope of the discussions on the differences and expectations in such a situation in various cultures, as compared to the international business behavioural patterns.

Not only once the practical activity of simulating a phone conversation has conduced to a debate on the *Do's and Don'ts* in the students' cultures. The time thus spent is, we believe, time gained in an effort to reach consistency and coherence of the multicultural class seen as the final 'patchwork.'

Job interviews and the teaching of *negotiating skills* are equally productive backgrounds for discussion of biases in the students' answers and views due to their different cultural perspectives. They can lead to drawing conclusions on the right attitude to adopt in a multicultural community as future professionals in engineering and/or business, without giving up their own culture and/or identity.

Along the same line come the *listening* focused activities, with the teacher having foreign students read the input texts for the listening tasks, thus exposing the group to a variety of foreign accents. This is done not only in order to get everybody used to non native accents in English, but also, and mainly, to develop the learners' openness as regards diversity, certainly up to the limit where error correction becomes necessary for whatever element might impede good quality communication taking place.

A distinct set of activities, which could be labeled as *Miscellanea*, can also be used at any moment they appear as *necessary* in the instruction process, provided they are conceived in such a way as not to distort the natural flow of the course, but, on the contrary, they should be a source of inspiration and enrichment for the students' views, contributing to the development of the learning styles and strategies they use, as well as of their attitude to the cultural group they belong to and the educational context in general.

Here, an important part can be played by *strategy developing tools*, such as the students' *learning diaries*. With some simple, well formulated rubrics, a diary can offer the learners themselves a better perspective on their evolution in understanding concepts and on enlarging their possibilities of interpreting multiculturalism connected issues.

Questionnaires, interviews and *focus groups* organized with a view to collecting valuable data for the teacher in (re)shaping their policy are also useful, particularly if the students feel encouraged to be sincere and reflect on their own ways of regarding the context and analyze themselves.

The value of open *discussions* should not be neglected either at various moments of the course, more precisely whenever any problem encountered or possible source of conflict could be solved by offering the learners the opportunity to express their opinions and ideas, thus clarifying the matter.

All these suggestions have really good chances of success if the teacher continuously values the *feedback* obtained from the learners as regards the quality of the course provided—which should naturally cover the response to the challenge of multiculturalism.

3.6. A sample Case Study

At the end of this brief analysis, an *individual* case study of one student is given in a nutshell, to add more subtle nuances to the proposal advanced here.

The student's name is Ahmed, he is from an Arabic country/culture, has been in Romania for over 5 years; he graduated from a Romanian high school and speaks good Romanian and better English.

When the *Best Language Learner* in the group were voted by the colleagues, he ranked first, alongside with Viviana—a Romanian student.

Interviewed by the teacher on his 'secrets' in learning English so well, he advanced the idea that his specialization in Computer Science has made it necessary for him to learn English very well.

He favours reading, both printed materials and electronic ones, he listens to music and films spoken in English and so on as his favourite language learning strategies. He has an organized manner of learning —with note books for lexis, consistent writing of homework and he is open to communicating in English with foreign people.

He is always ready to provide support to any of his colleagues, but especially to a less successful mate from the same country, whose level of proficiency and, implicitly, of integration in the group is lower. He

mentors his friend and strives to find the best ways of doing this without impeding that colleague to evolve on his own.

To bring this profile to a close, Ahmed's approach to learning and to understanding the specific nature of a multicultural group was seen as a *source of inspiration* for all his colearners, Romanians and foreign alike.

Thus, his answers and his profile and general attitude represented a positive contribution to the teacher's effort to improve the teaching of the multicultural group.

4. Open Conclusions

There are several aspects worth mentioning as far as the teacher's endeavour is concerned. The teacher's complex activities should include, in our opinion, some-most-all of the following:

*adopting the right *attitude* in the teaching of multicultural groups,

*design adequate teaching *strategies*, based on a sound needs analysis and a good level of knowledge about the particularities of the learners individually and as a group,

*the activities designed with a view to fostering academic *success* and *efficiency* in a positive environment for the learners of a multicultural group can be complemented by *orientation-guidance* courses for a better integration of the foreign and Romanian students in the specific context,

*the curriculum should be tailored in such a manner as to accommodate such (necessary) changes,

*the results of research carried out in the concrete educational context of a teacher should be *debated* on with fellow teachers facing relatively similar challenges,

*the entire teaching-research activity should be seen as a continuous *cycle*, with *good practice solutions* being applied and permanently revised in the light of *feedback* from the students.

Needless to say that the teacher involved in this cycle will—we believe—have better chances to develop at both personal and professional levels, which will be conducive to an increase in the quality of their approach to fostering the academic success of the multicultural group learners.

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